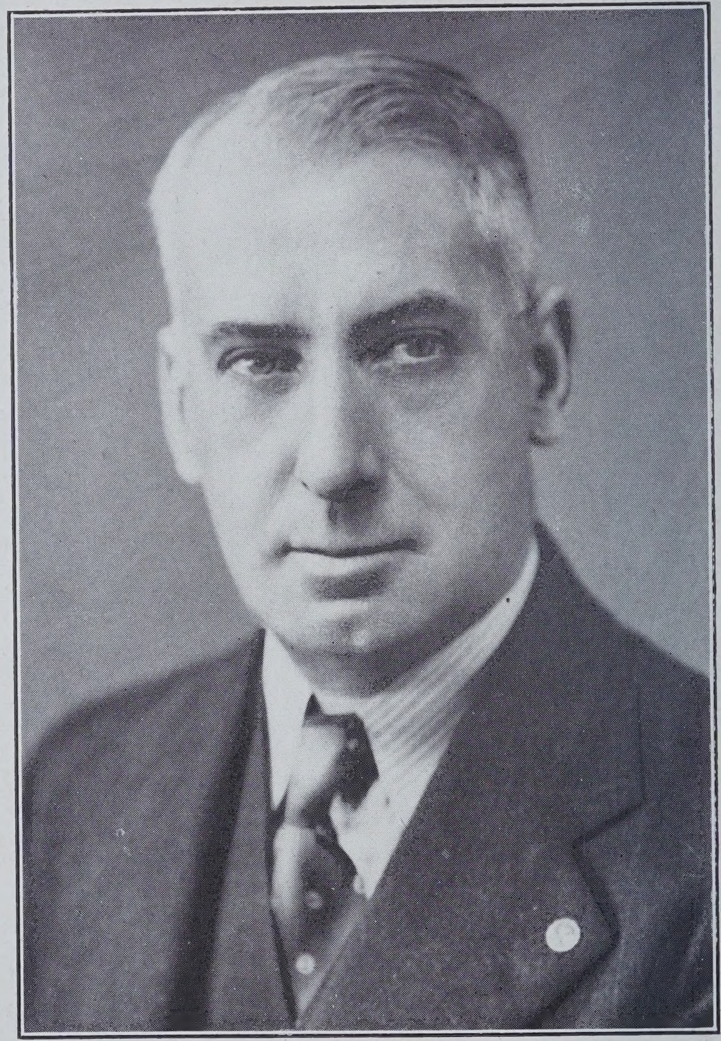
EMPIRE CLUB ADDRESSES

1944-45

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
University of Toronto

https://archive.org/details/empireclubofcana1944unse

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



CHARLES R. CONQUERGOOD,

PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, FOR 1944-45

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1944-45

Forty-second Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LTD.
TORONTO, CANADA.

Copyright, Canada, 1945
The Empire Club of Canada

YEAR BOOK PUBLISHING COMMITTEE,
1944-45

H. C. Bourlier
W. W. Comber, (Chairman)
Sydney Hermant

PRINTED IN CANADA
T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LIMITED, TORONTO

"OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE"

YEAR 1944-45

Honorary President:

His Excellency the Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone,
K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., V.D.,
Governor-General of Canada

President: C. R. Conquergood
First Vice-President: F. L. Clouse
Second Vice-President: Tracy E. Lloyd
Third Vice-President: S. J. Andrews
Secretary: H. C. Bourlier
Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Col. F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O. and Bar.
E. J. Bennett, F.C.A.
Robert A. Bryce
Hector Charlesworth
Major E. F. Coke
W. O. Detweiler
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
C. Norman Ham
George Hardy
Horace Harpham
Harry G. Haynes
Sydney Hermant
Gordon Janes
Gordon Jones
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
Eric F. Thompson
Lt.-Col. H. C. Tutte (S.A.)

Immediate Past President:

W. Eason Humphreys

Past Presidents:

Major Gordon B. Balfour
Major R. M. Harcourt
Dr. F. A. Gaby

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

CONTENTS

FRONTISPIECE - - - - - - - - - ii

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1944-45 - - v

AIMS AND AFFILIATION - - - - - - - vi

LIEUTENANT N. L. A. JEWELL, M.B.E., R.N.
"A Secret Mission" - - - - - - - - 1

DR. T. F. TSIANG, PH.D., LL.D.
"Post-War Economic Development in China" - 18

PERCY JAMES PHILIP
"Going On to the End" - - - - - - 30

NORMAN M. MACLEOD
"Stock-Taking for the Post-War" - - - - 42

GILBERT HARDING, M.A.
"Post-War Treatment of Germany - - - 55

A. C. WICKMAN
"The Simple Laws of International Trade" - 71

J. GORDON ROSS, M.P.
"Empire Parliamentary Association Visit to Australia and New Zealand - - - - - - 85

THE HONOURABLE PER WIJKMAN
"Sweden's Relationship with the British Empire and with Canada in Particular" - - - - 98

COLONEL WILLARD CHEVALIER
"As the Allies Face the Future" - - - - 112

COMMANDER C. M. WASSELL (M.C.) U.S.N.R.
"The War in the Far East" - - - - - 133

MATTHEW HALTON
"With the Canadians in Normandy" - - - - 148

MAJOR G. FAY DAVIES
"Post-War Toronto" - - - - - - - 163

WALTON COLE
"London under the Robot Bomb" - - - - 185

SIR ERNEST HERBERT COOPER
"The Strategic Position of Ulster" - - - 197

THE HONOURABLE GEORGE A. DREW, K.C.
"Target for Tomorrow" - - - - - - 205

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MACDONALD
"The Present Situation" - - - - - - 219

M. EMMANUEL D'HARCOURT
"Watch on the Rhine" - - - - - - 230

DR. YUI MING
"China's Position in this Struggle" - - - 243

THE HONOURABLE RAY ATHERTON
"Looking Forward to the Post-War World" - 256

BYNG WHITTEKER
"London Tells the World" - - - - - 266

GEORGE B. LANGFORD, B.A., PH.D., F.R.S.C.
Ontario's Post-War Planning Needs" - - - 282

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM G. S. DOBBIE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., LL.D.
"The Defence of Malta" - - - - - - 298

JOHN COLLINGWOOD READE
"The Approaching Climax - - - - - 311

SIR JOHN PUDDESTER, LL.D.
"Newfoundland" - - - - - - - - - 328

JAMES SMITH-ROSS
"Europe—A Search for Ideas" - - - - 351

THE REVEREND WENDELL PHILLIPS
"Palestine and the Middle East" - - - - 362

ROBERT STAERMOSE
"The Resistance Movement in Denmark" - - 381

THE HONOURABLE T. C. DOUGLAS
"Saskatchewan's Post-War Plans" - - - 393

ROY H. THOMSON
"The Puzzling Years Ahead" - - - - - 409

RALPH W. CARNEY
"The Unfinished Task" - - - - - - 427

MAJOR A. W. INNES, M.C.
"Fighting in Burma" - - - - - - 446

THE ANNUAL MEETING - - - - - - - 460

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - - - - - - - 464

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS - - - - - 465

PAST PRESIDENTS - - - - - - - - 465

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1945-46 - 467

CONSTITUTION - - - - - - - - - 468

ROLL OF MEMBERS - - - - - - - - 474

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses, contained in this volume, are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"A SECRET MISSION"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUTENANT N. L. A. JEWELL, M.B.E., L.M., R.N.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, May 18, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: Gentlemen: The course of human progress is not a uniform incline. Rather it is like the waves of the ocean buffeting humanity, sometimes head-on, sometimes from the sides, and at times even from behind and carrying him along.

In the year 1932 we were wallowing in the trough of a depression. Over the crest of the wave ahead, we did not see the tidal wave of war rushing toward us. But, in January of that year, 1932, a young man from Pinner, in Middlesex, England, joined His Majesty's Navy. He registered as Norman Limsbury Auchinleck Jewell.

He, perhaps, least of all would have dreamed that a career in the Navy would ever bring him as guest of honour to The Empire Club in Toronto today. I am almost certain that if our present vocational counsellors in education had been advising him, they would not have intimated to him that the Navy would require him to deliver public addresses in a few short years, for the Navy is traditionally referred to as "The Silent Service". However he is here, probably more by public demand than personal choice, and is for the time on another mission, this time for public information.

Before the present war he served in H.M.SS. *Erebus, Revenge* and *Devonshire*. He had attained the rank of Lieutenant in February, 1937. In August, 1936, he was appointed to his first submarine, H.M.S. *Clyde,* and in January, 1940, to H.M.S. *Otway*. From August, 1940, he served for about twelve months as First Lieutenant in the Submarine *Truant,* then operating in the Mediterranean.

Lieutenant Jewell's first command was the Submarine *L. 27,* which he joined in August, 1941, and in February, 1942, he was appointed to command H.M. Submarine *Seraph,* now famous as the "Secret Mission Submarine", which landed and re-embarked General Mark Clark and other officers to contact French leaders before the Allied landings in North Africa, and which embarked General Giraud off the coast of France and transferred him to a Flying Boat. For these and other secret missions, Lieutenant Jewell was appointed Member of the Order of the British Empire in February, 1943. While under his command, the *Seraph* has also sunk 7,000 tons of enemy shipping and damaged a further 10,000 tons. For his part in the invasion of Sicily, President Roosevelt conferred on Lieutenant Jewell the Legion of Merit. In addition, he was mentioned in despatches in August, 1941, for efficiency and coolness during a successful torepdo attack on the enemy and during a depth charge attack.

We wecome this young man and I am now privileged to present to you, Lieutenant Jewell, M.B.E., L.M., R.N., who will address us on "A Secret Mission".

LIEUTENANT N. L. A. JEWELL, R.N. : Mr. President, Gentlemen: I would like, first of all, to try to tell you something about what submarines have done so far in this war. I imagine most of you look on us submariners as successors to the traditional pirates, but unfortunately that is far from true. In these days of radio we are as much controlled as any other portion of the Fleet and in point of fact we are nothing more nor less than an advanced striking force of the United Nations.

Our submarine war can be divided roughly into five stages. When war broke out we had some 54-odd submarines and the vast majority of these were out in the Pacific Ocean since, as is common in naval strategy, when a weak fleet faces a strong one a vast portion of its strength lies in its submarines. When war broke out we had a certain number of submarines on patrol in Heligoland and off the short strip of North-East Germany, and here, some four minutes after war was declared, our first submarine was attacked by an enemy U-boat. The Submarine *Spearfish* was fortunately placed and spent some time in chasing her assailant but, although she tried to ram the U-boat, she was never able to get into position to fire her torpedoes and after some six hours of hunting had to give up the chase.

At the beginning, our submarines were operating under considerable difficulties. International law stated that before a merchant ship could be sunk she had to be stopped and the crew given time to abandon ship. This, quite obviously, put operations against merchant ships out of the question in areas over which the enemy had complete air superiority and so, in point of fact, warships became our only targets.

The next stage of our war came roughly when Germany entered Denmark and Norway and about this time the *Bremen* was allowed to pass by Commander Pickford in command of the Submarine *Salmon*. Because of this and of public indignation we shortly afterward instituted areas, known as "secret sight" areas, in which any merchant ship could be attacked without any further warning.

In occupying Denmark and Norway, Germany laid herself open to supplying a large coast-line. There our submarines had considerable success not only on supply ships but also on warships and, I think, largely on account of our efforts the German High Seas Fleet never again put to sea in one whole piece.

The next stage of our submarine war came when Germany walked into Belgium and France and once more they laid themselves open to a large coast-line. Here the main responsibility of stopping enemy supply ships fell on our submarines. Our surface craft quite obviously could not operate in waters which were completely covered by enemy aircraft and, as supply ships never went very far off the shore, the responsibility rested largely upon us.

At about the same time, the Battle of the Atlantic started and a certain amount of responsibility was put on us to try and stop enemy submarines from getting in and out of the Atlantic ports. In connection with this it might be of interest that up to now, I think, over fifty enemy U-boats have been sunk by our submarines.

The next stage came when Italy entered the war, hoping by quick conquest to grab whatever she could, and then the Battle of the Mediterranean started. When war broke out it had been decided that the Mediterranean theatre should be left largely to the Allied French. When Italy declared war on us we had very few submarines in the Mediterranean, some five on patrol off that coast and of these only one came back. At this time we withdrew our submarines from the Pacific and brought them into the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

They started to re-inforce Malta with a fairly new class of submarine—our U-Class from back home. These submarines were very small carrying only four torpedoes, but they were ideally designed for operation in the Mediterranean theatre. And from the Malta to Palermo line these submarines sank from 775,000 tons of shipping in the three and a quarter years until the Italian fleet surrendered. The Mediterranean-Malta theatre is the most difficult in the world for submarine operation. The water is extremely clear and a submarine can be seen as deep as 200 feet when aircraft know its position. Besides, in this basin, there are a large number of small islands and reefs. In the total Mediterranean from the time the battle started until the threat of the surrender of the Italian fleet, some 1,335,000 tons of enemy shipping was sunk by our submarines.

Operating in Mediterranean waters was no easy matter. When a submarine came back from patrol it started off by getting along side the next submarine it could see and transferring to it whatever torpedoes were left. They next went into the middle of the harbour and secured the buoys. They left about a third of the crew on board and on the surface at night they made whatever repairs were required, but during the first thousand raids on Malta our submarine base was hit something over 400 times. When people eventually went off to sea again they were really quite glad to return to comparative peace and quiet.

From the time that the Battle of El Alamein started until the end of the Battle of Tunis, some 330 ships were sunk by the Royal Navy, of which 228 were sunk by submarines alone, which is quite a considerable proportion. At this time, enemy convoys consisted mainly of some four ships with three to five escort vessels, as well as aircraft and U-boats. Naturally as soon as an attack developed, our submarines were depth charged, almost without exception, and during this period some 41 were lost by enemy action.

Well, now the wheel has turned full circle and once more the main portion of our submarines are heading eastward to the Pacific and there from day to day you will see sinkings by our Eastern flotillas.

That, generally, is a very quick outline of submarine warfare so far as it has gone today.

Well, perhaps I could try to give you some idea of what a submarine patrol is like. Normally, submarines go to sea for three to four weeks at a time. Then they have ten to fourteen days in harbour and toward the end of this period, perhaps on the last two days, people go ashore and try to make the most of their opportunity to make up for what they will miss in the next three to four weeks. When eventually you leave harbour, somewhere around dusk, you will find quite a proportion of the ship's company nigh on incapable.

When you go outside you really dive clear of the harbour so, when you surface, you flood a tank called a "quick diving tank" to help you to get out of any danger as quickly as possible, you wave goodbye to your escort and push on into the blue and from then on you have a very lonely feeling, as if you had no friends whatsoever in the world. With all respect to any Air Force people present, we really don't trust our own side any more than the other. So, with two-thirds of the ship's company who are capable, we move on into the night.

While travelling on the surface normally, a submarine has to look out and one operates the watch on the bridge. Toward dawn we dive and settle down at periscope depth and stay there for the day, and those people who require rest to recover from their "hangovers" now get it. About one-third of the ship's company is on duty all the time, and constant watch is kept through the periscope. This is the only person who knows what is going on up top.

Just before sunset we usually go to what we call "diving stations," the whole ship's company closes up and we carry out drills of anything that might go wrong, so that next time there is an emergency everybody will know what to do. Then when it is really dark we surface and carry on toward our patrol area, which normally, in the Mediterranean anyway, we reach towards the end of the second night.

We have to look for our enemy's ships fairly close to the coast-line. The Germans have really no need to send their ships across any open ocean. They have only to do a short distance at a time so they can we well escorted and covered, not only by coastal guns but also by aircraft and small surface vessels. Unlike them, we are not able to choose our place and position and time for attack, and we have to keep our patrol normally something like three miles off the enemy coast.

Eventually we arrive at our patrol position and we sit there some three miles off the coast, dive by day and surface by night. From then on things really become rather boring. After some days perhaps, if we are lucky, the watch will sight something, and then with your heart rather dropping to the bottom of your boots you rush along to have a look, rather hoping he is seeing nothing. Once you decide that perhaps there is something there, you start in toward the attack. You go to diving stations, which means everybody closes up, and from then on everybody has so much to do that he has no time to be frightened and eventually you arrive at your position and then when the time comes you fire your torpedoes.

Now, I think, everybody gets rather a relaxed feeling. Once your torpedoes have gone you reveal your position to the aircraft up top and it is time to move fairly fast to get away from the end of the track. The first thing the enemy aircraft does is go in that direction and drop all the bombs it has. At once you start off, moving at full speed, making a large alteration of course to get away from the danger. Then everybody watches his stop watch and about the time the band should go off you hurriedly put up your periscope and have a quick look around. If you have been lucky you may see a hit. Your next reaction is to go straight down to something like 300 feet. As I said before, you can be seen from the air as deep as 200 feet, so you have to get away below this depth. Once you are there, there is very little more for you to do. It is a sort of magnified game of hide-and-seek in which your main reaction, I think, is to sit there and pray to any God you know, and hope for the best.

After some time, anything from three to five hours, the noises up top gradually get less and less and eventually when you hear no propeller noises you are able to come up and have a quick look around. Well, if you haven't got too far away from the scene of your attack you may see the escort trying to pick up the survivors. Normally, by this time you are too far away to see anything and you wait until sunset and dark, and then surface, and at the end of the night go back into your patrol area and the whole thing starts again. Perhaps if you are lucky in a patrol you may see or attack two or three targets.

Well, towards the end of the patrol, at about the time that everybody is getting rather fed up with everybody else's face and very irritated by anything anybody else does, you eventually get a signal telling you to return to harbour and very thankfully you turn and go back home. And when you get there you are met on the gangway by the Captain, the head of the Flotilla, who quickly tells you what you have done, in case you want to tell him anything different.

Then we go on some three days leave. At our port we have rest camps for submarine crews. These camps are usually situated somewhere outside the town, where the sailors won't be subjected to too much temptation, and there they can lie in the sun and do what they please for some three days without any restrictions or any rules or regulations. At the end of this time half of the ship's company comes back and the other half goes and enjoys itself.

After that we start putting right all the things inside the submarine that have broken down during the last patrol. This goes on for some ten to fourteen days. But also, as none of the ship's company receive any sunlight whatsoever for some three to four weeks, they are normally required to have sun-ray treaments during their stay in harbour. At the end of fourteen days everything starts again and off you go on patrol.

That generally is a quick outline of a normal patrol.

Submarines in this war have not only been required to sink enemy war and merchant ships; they have been used to bombard enemy coasts and communications, to lay mines in enemy waters, to carry stores to beleaguered islands like Malta and, before any invasion is possible, submarines have to carry out local reconnaissance and certain other jobs to show our army how to get there. Generally there is very little that is not required of submarines in sea warfare today.

Perhaps I could give you some examples from my own experience. In November of last year, about the time of the Battle of Eros, when we were returning after some four weeks patrol, we got a signal telling us to go to an island and bombard what they said was German headquarters. We turned around and started off toward this island. We had not gone very far when we sighted a large schooner. This area is controlled half by the Germans and half by ourselves and it is rather difficult to tell the difference at night between the two. If you fire a round at them the first reaction of the Greek crew is to abandon ship and move off in the night. Once one of our submarines was left in the embarrassing position of having to take some of our own schooners back to harbour.

We did fire one round at this vessel and, true to tradition, the Greek crew abandoned ship and moved away. We got a little closer and found a 3-inch gun on its stern and some 2.5 machine guns. We came closer and found a lot of stores on board. So we put on a boarding party to find who the vessel really belonged to. When they got on board and after they had looked around for some time they found a German officer and some twelve German ratings down below doing very well on the local Greek wine. We sank the schooner and moved on toward our destination. We found the party were all going to the same place so we were quite happy to accommodate them.

We arrived there just before dawn and dived and had a look at the place through the periscope. We found a large schooner alongside a warehouse, disembarking what looked like oil or petrol, and some three seaplanes sitting on the water. It was very obvious it was German headquarters and there were also quite a number of brand new gun emplacements. We thought it was a little stupid to surface in daytime and start action under the nose of these guns. So we waited until dusk and fired one torpedo. The schooner disappeared in a cloud of smoke. Then we surfaced and took on the one remaining seaplane—the other two took off during the day. It very soon disappeared and then we fired some rounds into the warehouse which caught fire very rapidly. We started shooting at the headquarters but by now the enemy guns were getting fairly accurate, and it only takes one hit to put a submarine out of action. We dived and removed ourselves. Throughout this action our German friends were very good and supplied the ammunition up to the guns.

Just before Italy fell and on a very misty morning we weren't quite sure where we were. We wanted to dive, some three miles off the coast, but, unfortunately, we weren't quite in position. After we had dived and come up shortly afterward we saw quite a convoy arriving from the south. We started to attack it and eventually got in position behind the nearest destroyer and fired our first torpedo. Unfortunately it went straight down to the bottom and exploded. This explosion, again unfortunately, ruined all the rest of the torpedoes in the salvo and one of them jammed. We also could not steer the submarine properly and had great difficulty in operating below the surface. We flooded all our tanks so far as we could and when the upward tendency had been stopped we found ourselves moving down very fast. But we were very surprised to hit bottom at some 90 feet when we expected at least 300 feet from the position we thought we were in.

Once we reached the bottom there was very little left to do. We had to stop all motors and noises in the boat and we couldn't run the pump at all until the first depth charges were dropped. Then we ran it as hard as we could for about half a minute and stopped it and waited for the next. Unfortunately, during one of the charges the spindle of the pump got snapped and no water was taken out of the tank. Eventually, after some five had gone off, the charges on top stopped and we thought about coming up again. Two of these charges, by the way, actually hit the casing of the submarine and fell into the mud alongside before exploding. At the end of this time our pump obviously wasn't working. Eventually we lifted ourselves and arrived at periscope depth. There we found the nearest destroyer stopped and obviously listening, about a mile away. We were able by moving slowly to get away around it and outside. It took us some four days to repair the damage done inside the submarine.

That may give you some idea of what a depth charge attack is like.

Perhaps I can't do better than tell you about General Clark and General Giraud. In October of 1942, the Captain and myself were sent for by the Brigadier and when we got there we were given two glasses of a very good sherry and told to sip on them. We had been there some few minutes when a large party of American Generals and Colonels arrived in the room, headed by the strange old man, General Clark, and he started in in a very business-like way to read out his orders and to tell us more or less what was going on. When he had finished, he turned to the Captain, and asked if he thought the operation was feasible, to which the Captain replied that so long as the information about the French people ashore was correct he couldn't see any grave difficulties.

We then decided to go back on board the depot ship and have dinner. We didn't want a large party of Generals and people to be seen moving down into the submarine in broad daylight and that submarine to push straight off. It would look a little obvious, we thought, in a place like Gibraltar. We all went aboard the depot ship and discussed our plans and eventually in twos and threes we went down into the submarine and finally pushed off.

When we got about fifty miles east of Gibraltar we said goodbye to our escort and moved on. When the moon shone we stopped and had our passengers practise getting into our small boats and manoeuvring them and also trying out all the apparatus they had with them, such as "walkie-talkie" sets, and other things of that nature. Once we decided we would get through without any grave difficulty and without any extreme danger we got them back on board and went on our way.

We moved on all through the day and the next night until eventually, at about six o'clock in the morning, we arrived at our destination and there, in accordance with instructions, we found a white light burning in an upper window of a lonely house. This light was to tell us that, so far as the people ashore were concerned, everything was all right, but it was now too late in the morning to start disembarking because we would have been left off an enemy coast close to shore on the surface, and we thought the risk was too much. So, we dived and patrolled close in off the beach and had a good look at it to try to find if there were any defences or anybody there obviously waiting for us.

Throughout this day two trawlers spent their time fishing all around us and generally we got a little worried. We were finally quite relieved when just before sunset they moved off and went back to harbour. We were able to go some eight miles off the beach and surface, and there we sat around and waited for the white light to go on. Unfortunately, it didn't go on for some time. Just when we were getting a little worried as to whether to go on or not, eventually it appeared. We cleared the beach and started disembarking. We dropped the first three boats off all right. Unfortunately the fourth, which was to take General Clark ashore, overturned and swamped. We had to get that one out of the water and start to repair it. We got one of the other boats back, took the American officer out and put General Clark on board.

We also decided the first boat to go ashore should have in it a Colonel Holmes of the United States Army, who was the only one who knew personally the people there. Once he got ashore and identified the people who were to meet him he was to signal back, and if the people ashore weren't the right party he was also to try to signal this. While that was going on the remainder of the boats were some miles off the beach as we didn't want the whole party captured in a lump.

Well, he got ashore and he identified the party and eventually he flashed back the signal and all the rest went ashore and the fourth boat that started off some time after them made very good headway and arrived on the beach shortly after the rest of the party. Once they got on the shore they reported back on the "walkie-talkie" to say that everything was all right. Then we turned around and went out to our position some eight miles off the beach. There we stayed for the rest of the night and kept in constant communication with them. When the dawn arrived we told them to sign off for the day and they were to tell us when we surfaced after dark what they wanted us to do and whether things were still going well.

Throughout this day again, our friends the trawlers spent their time fishing around us and once again, just before sunset, they moved off back to harbour. We surfaced in much the same place as the night before and waited for our signal to come through. At first we suspected that our "walkie-talkie" had broken down but from trying it out on the ship's radio we found it was working all right. Eventually, about 11.15 when we were getting very worried, we got a signal saying, "Come in, for . . . sake, as quickly and as close as you can." The sea had got very rough by now. We moved in and watched the first boat trying hard to get through. It overturned some three times with, as we afterwards heard, the cry, "Never mind your pants, General, save the oars." Finally they decided they couldn't make it. They told us to go back out again, and there we sat around and waited and meanwhile, they told us, they had had a certain amount of trouble with the police ashore.

About 3.15 we got much the same signal and back we went in toward the beach again. This time we were able to watch the first boat get through the surf and get on. Then I rather lost sight of it as I was watching the other boat taking out from the beach. Eventually, a long, white, rather naked body appeared over the front end of the submarine and General Clark arrived back. He came up the bridge and told us he had had a hell of a time ashore there and the sooner we got out of this the better.

At short intervals after this the remaining boats came off but the last boat, which was the one that overturned before, once more got swamped and we had great difficuty in lifting it out of the water. Unfortunately, this boat had in it a small amount of gold which they had taken ashore in the hopes that, had they been captured, they would have been able to arrange "guards," as they called them, and get away.

About this time the shore lights started to go on and also some car lights started to appear, going around toward the back of the house. We thought it was high time to leave, so we put some holes in the bottom of the boat and let it sink. Then we dived, turned around and went out.

We were ready for this party when they came aboard. We knew they would be cold so we had prepared for them some hot coffe and hot rum. By the time we got down to depth and settled there, and they arrived back from the ward room, conversation was flowing fairly freely and we were able to hear something of what had gone on ashore.

Apparently the house had been deserted by the owners for some tmie and was occupied only by a caretaker and a maid. The maid had been discharged some two days before the party started but when she saw a large house party arrive at the house she became a little suspicious and told her boy friend about it. He, in his turn, had gone and told the police. So, the house was raided and the British and the Americans were pushed down into a cellar and the door shut on top of them, some dust thrown over the door, and the Frenchmen then threw a party. While they were down in the cellar the Senior Commander had wanted badly to sneeze. After having his mouth stuffed with a handkerchief he was eventually handed a piece of gum to chew by General Clark. He chewed on this for some time and eventually decided it had no taste. He remarked on this to the General and he replied, "Hell, no. I had been chewing on that for some two hours myself."

Then they got out of this cellar and up top again and carried on with the conference. Toward the time the conference was due to end the place was once more raided. This time the Americans and the British removed themselves through the windows and down to their boats on the beach and the Frenchmen left through the rest of the windows and resumed their return home, and the story has it that one French General made a complete shift from uniform into plain clothes and out of the window in under thirty seconds flat.

Well, you have heard most of the rest of the story.

Once we got some thirty miles clear of the coast, we surfaced and signalled that the party was more or less successfully over and we were returning, and then we dived again for the rest of the day and surfaced at night and moved on. When dawn arrived the sea was absolutely calm, and as General Clark was in rather a hurry to get back to London—it was then about ten days before the invasion—he made a signal asking for an aircraft. Some hours later a Catalina landed alongside and we transferred the party. Just before he left, General Clark said he had another job for us to do in a few day's time.

We arrived back in Gibraltar on my birthday and also the Senior Commander's birthday and we hoped, both of us, to go ashore and celebrate it in a proper manner. Unfortunately, as soon as we arrived, we were told our leave had been stopped, so we had to do the best we could on board. Some three days later we were sent for by the Admiral who told us he had got another job and in his office we found Captain Wright of the United States Navy, one of the officers who had been with us before. There were also other officers and a French interpreter and they told us to try and pick up General Giraud.

We went out to a position some fifteen miles off the south coast of France and there we sat for some five days, and a very boring five days it was. We had practically nothing to do except to teach each other card games we hoped the other side didn't know, but we generally came out fairly even on the cash. At the end of five days we got our instructions as to where to go and what to do. The day before we were supposed to be there we dived into the harbour and had a very good look around to find out what our position should be and also what the coast-line looked like. Then we dived out again and stayed there until the appointed time, which was supposed to be at midnight. Just before that we dived into the harbour once more and surfaced in our position exactly at midnight. There we sat and waited for some time until one of our lookouts read a light flashing ashore which said "Wait for one hour." So we dived and waited for an hour. Then we surfaced once again in the same position and sat on, still waiting. Eventually we saw another small light flashing. This time it was the letters which were the agreed signal and later a small boat came alongside us and disembarked General Giraud and party and we turned around and left the harbour.

We were very lucky in the time chosen to come off. It had been blowing very hard from the south until a short time before and as soon as they were on board it started to blow hard from the north and the centre of the storm must have passed right over the top of us. We were no sooner outside the harbour than our troubles really began. Our radio transmitter broke down. After trying to use it for some time we eventually got signals from the Admiralty at outlying stations that our signals were too weak to read so we stripped down the set to try to find what was wrong. Finding nothing we put it back together again and once more did our best but still got no results.

About this time Gibraltar started to get worried and to ask all sorts of questions, most of which we had been trying to answer for some time before. This went on for the whole of the next day and night. Eventually, some time before dawn, we got a signal from some bright boy in Gibraltar telling us a Catalina was being sent out to traverse our route, so when dawn broke we had to remain on surface.

Then Captain Wright came up on the bridge and said, "See, it is in black and white. Our aircraft are told to bomb whatever submarines are sighted in this area, no matter of what nationality or what recognition they should make", and he suggested that we should dive. Obviousy this was impossible, so feeling very unhappy I had to remain there.

Some few hours later our Catalina arrived and we made all the recognition signals we could think of and told who we were and why we were there and added a rider that we didn't want to be bombed. Finally, they accepted us for what we were and landed alongside. Then we got the party up on the casing all ready to be transferred across when another aircraft appeared. It looked like a Heinkel and we had to get all below again and dive. When the sky cleared we surfaced again and transferred the group across. We asked them to signal Gibraltar that they had the party on board and that we were on our way back. They replied that they hadn't got sufficient code to do this and would try to make up a cryptic signal which they hoped wouldn't be broken by the enemy. The cryptic signal was so good that our own people couldn't break it either. So eventually the party arrived back with no one to meet them.

Fortunately, the Colonel went on board the depot ship to find how things had gone and eventually we were told to return to Gibraltar in our own time. Next day we heard all the noises that go with an invasion.

Well, I have given you some examples, I think, of the co-operation that is possible not only between our own Forces but also between all our United Nations, and also on occasions with our German enemies. I think co-operation is our key-word today, and I hope that when eventually we arrive at peace we shall continue to co-operate as our Forces at the front are doing now.

"POSTWAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA"

AN ADDRESS BY

DR. TINGFU F. TSIANG, PH.D., LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, September 28, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: The Empire Club of Canada today opens its 42nd season, in the fifth year of the second World War, that has so severely tried the fortunes and fortitude of the Empire.

During the more than forty years of its life, this Club has been privileged to hear many very distinguished guest speakers. Each year the addresses have been published in book form at the end of the season. These books make a reference library on Canadian and world affairs that is valuable to the student of Canadian history. The 1943-44 volume will be out shortly. In addition to those gathered here in the Royal York, who have the opportunity to see as well as to hear, the message is being carried to a considerable radio audience, through the courtesy of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as a part of their public service.

It has been the purpose of our Club to promote by sound knowledge the progress of Canada, as part of our Empire, and as a member of The British Commonwealth of Nations. We have been interested in our neighbors and especially during war times, in the welfare and understanding of the problems of our Allies. I fear that, so far, perhaps, many Canadians have taken a casual concern in the war in the East. With the end of the European phase of the war, and a transfer of some of our loved ones more directly in the conflict against Japan, our interests will magnify many fold.

Today, we are privileged to have as our guest a member of the Cabinet of China, which is now in the thirteenth year of its war with Japan. Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang was born in Hunan. He came to America to pursue his education. He attended Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and Columbia University in New York. Returning to China, he became Professor of Modern Chinese History in Nankai University and National Tainghau University.

In the winter of 1935, when General Chiang Kai-Shek became President, our guest became Chief Political Secretary of the Executive Yuan. In August of 1936, he was appointed Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. In May, 1938, he returned to his former post as Chief Political Secretary. In January, 1942, he was made a member of the Cabinet.

He has represented his country at the U.N.R.R.A. Conference which finished its session in Montreal two days ago and he returns to China shortly. It is a pleasure to present Dr. Tsiang, who will address us on the subject "Postwar Economic Development of China."

DR. TINGFU F. TSIANG: Mr. President, Your Worship, Bishop White, Gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada: First of all, I want to thank you for these warm words of welcome, and for this opportunity to explain one part of China's life to friends in Canada. Although I have been in Canada only two weeks I have had occasion to meet friends who are interested in United China Relief, as well as in Canadian Red Cross work in China.

I want to take advantage of this occasion to thank you, on behalf of China's common people, for this generous help to us in our hour of need.

Yesterday morning, almost as my first act after arrival in your great city, I visited the Royal Museum. There I saw one of the most splendid collections of products of Chinese culture throughout the centuries. Gentlemen, I want to congratulate you on possessing such a splendid collection in your great city.

Canada and China are close neighbours. Future developments will make us even closer than today, closer in distance, closer in trade and commerce, and closer, I hope, also in friendship.

Today in speaking before you I have no plea to make, no policy to advocate, no axe to grind. My sole purpose is to put at your disposal some of my knowledge of China, so as to help you to understand my country. I have chosen to speak on the subject "The Postwar Economic Development of China", because I consider that economic development is the key to many of China's problems.

Let us look at the war in the Far East. It is a paradox, to say the least, that small Japan could invade and occupy such large areas of China which is so much bigger than Japan in area and in population. If we study the situation carefully the apparent paradox disappears. Fundamentally, the strength of Japan in the Far East lies in her high degree of industrialization.

Let me put it more accurately. Japan's modern strength is derived from her wide use of modern science and modern technology in all fields of production and distribution. On the other hand, China's relative weakness is explained by the fact that hitherto she has not applied modern science and technology to her vast natural resources.

It would require more time that I have at my disposal to explain how it happened that Japan's industrialization proceeded faster than China's. I would just say this, that as far back as 1860 the Chinese statesman, Li Hung-Chang, understood the great importance of industrialization. He then pointed out that the rivalry between China and Japan in the Far East would be decided by the race for acceptance and utilization of modern science and modern technology.

A variety of difficulties, some political and some cultural, have prevented us from embracing whole-heartedly the programme of modernization which Li Hung-Chang advocated 80 years ago. After the experience of this war, with all its bitterness and suffering, we in China, for the first time, are united in the conviction that we must whole-heartedly, and as fast as possible, apply modern science and technology to our factories, farms, roads and rivers. We believe that through such a programme of economic development we will achieve national security. We believe further that there is no other road to national security than the development of our own strength.

Let us look at the internal situation in China. There the most glaring fact is the poverty of the people. Their poverty, we think, is due fundamentally to the fact that we have continued to produce and to transport commodities through ways and means which are actually mediæval, which go back to the pre-scientific age. We believe that with the application of science and technology to our natural resources, we can increase our production and raise the standard of living of the people many times.

The poverty of the Chinese people has been the root cause of their illiteracy. The common people of China appreciate education and respect the men of knowledge and learning. It is entirely unnecessary to tell them that they should send their children to school. If many of them don't send their children to school, it is because they need their boys and girls to help with their work in the home and on the farm. With the rise in the standard of living education will spread automatically.

Let me call your attention to another of China's problems. People who have travelled in my country know that China suffers from the prevalence of disease among all classes of the population. The Chinese people appreciate health as much as any other people. If they do not achieve a good standard of health it is because they have not the means to eat nutritive food, live in comfortable houses and utilize the services of well trained doctors and nurses. The people of China are not healthy because they are poor and since they are poor they cannot become healthy. Economic development is undoubtedly the key to our building in China a strong and healthy race of people.

The ideas which I have expounded are today the common property of the Chinese Government and people. A thousand different reasons unite to compel us to work for rapid and large scale economic development after this war.

We in China are agreed that we should launch forth a large programme of economic development. We are not quite agreed as to the type of economy which we should try to build up in China. Should China go in for state enterprise or should she try to develop private enterprise? This question is one of the important questions facing the Chinese people today.

Let us look first at the facts of the situation. The Chinese Government today owns and operates all the railways. In the old days private capital in China was not ready to build railways. We had no choice. If we wanted railways, the Government must build them. Likewise with the munitions industry. Today the Chinese Government owns and operates all the munitions factories in China. We had no choice about that matter either. Private business was not interested in making ammunition. The Government simply had to do it.

Again, let us take steel. Before the war the largest steel mill in China was owned and operated by the Government. We tried a variety of experiments for attracting private capital to the steel industry, but we failed. Today the Chinese Government has assumed the chief burden in the development of heavy industry.We have not adopted the policy of government monoply, but factually the Chinese Government will play a much larger role in the development of heavy industry than governments in most Western countries.

Let us turn to the field of finance. The four government banks of China are the four giants in the financial world in China. There is room for private banks, but it would be impossible for any private bank or group of private banks to control or dominate the financial world. There the key is firmly held by the Government. So much for the facts of the situation.

Now let us turn to the thinking in China. Dr. Sun

Yat-Sen, the Father of the Republic, left as his testament to the Chinese people the ideal that the coming industrial revolution in China should benefit all classes, that we should profit by the experience of the West and that we should from the very beginning guide economic development for the good of all. Dr. Sun's teachings have been reinforced by a number of contemporary movements in many Western countries.

Factual development and theoretical preference would naturally lead us to develop a type of economy somewhere between the U.S.S.R. type and the U.S.A. type. We shall most likely pursue the middle way in economics. This is my prediction. There are controversies in China on this point. Some say that private business is always more efficient than government enterprise. They say that if China should adopt state ownership on a large scale China would not be able to borrow the necessary capital from Western countries. They would add that, since that is true, China might as well adopt a policy of private enterprise in order to hasten the industrialization of China.

Then there is another minority, who hope that in any case China will not be able to borrow largely from Western countries and that China might as well make up her mind to get along with her own resources and to imitate the U.S.S.R. in her various Five Year Plans.

I do not care to engage in controversies here today. I wish to inform you that while the major tendency in China is towards an economy of a mixed nature, there are minor groups advocating either complete free enterprise, or a very large measure of state enterprise. I would say that I predict that the major tendency of developing a mixed economy will be the line eventually to be adopted by the country.

We look forward toward industrialization. After this war the Chinese Government and people will be wedded to modern science and technology. That wedding will be a honeymoon of long duration. There can be no question about universal enthusiasm in China for modern science and modern technology.

When looking over the history of China and the entire world situation we come to the conclusion that China's material culture has strengthened her own moral culture. That doesn't mean we are satisfied with our own moral culture, that we think we can make no improvement in that respect. It simply means that the great handicap which prevents China from having her share of influence in this world is the backwardness of her material culture.

We have good natural resources and we have now a good number of trained scientists and engineers. As to our capacity to master modern technology, we have no doubt. During the next ten or twenty years of rapid national reconstruction we will need the services of a large number of foreign technicians, but in time we believe our scientists and engineers will be equal in every respect to those in other lands.

Our enthusiasm, however, is not wild or Utopian. In the decade before the war our geologists made accurate and detailed surveys. While we can do a great deal in the way of industrialization, we have come to the conclusion that China will never be industrialized to the same degree that the United States, the United Kingdom or Germany have been industrialized.

Take, for example, the resources of iron. If the Chinese people should have the same annual per capita consumption as the people in the United States, we would exhaust our natural resources in twenty years.

Therefore, agriculture will always play a larger part in China's economy than it does in the highly industrialized nations today. But we in China can improve agriculture and increase our agricultural production by the application of science and technology. Before the war our scientists had done good work in this field. We succeeded in producing new varieties of rice, wheat and cotton, which increased the yield by 12 to 15 per cent.

That was, however, only a beginning. That type of work must be continued and enlarged. In addition, we must take up a number of other tasks. For example, we can develop animal husbandry. Last year the Government of the United States lend-leased to us the services of some experts who surveyed the grass lands in the North-West and the South-West of China. They have reported that the conditions in those regions are suitable for the building of a large animal husbandry. The Chinese people are using more wool for clothing. They need more meat in their diet. We look to our North-West and South-West to supply the wool and the meat.

In supplying scientifically prepared fertilizers to the farmer we made only a beginning before the war and that beginning was destroyed by the Japanese invaders. After the war we will build fertilizer factories again and build them on a larger scale.

The science of insecticide has many benefits to confer on the Chinese farmer. We have suffered big losses in the past from such pests as the locust. After we have killed the Japanese we will try to kill off the locusts and other pests.

Modern forms of organization, such as farmers' co-operatives, can be highly beneficial to the Chinese farmer, both in production and in marketing. My government has been much interested in the development of the Co-operative movement. After the war we will push that movement with great zeal.

The Chinese Government has a Farmers' Bank which has tried to place credit at the disposal of the farmer. That Bank will play a large role in transforming the tenants into independent farmers. In other words, we intend to take up a great agrarian reform after this war.

I would like to dwell a little on this point. We have been criticized for our slowness in taking up agrarian reform. It may be that we have been too slow, that we could have adopted a bolder programme. Again, I do not wish to indulge in controversy here, but I would like to point out some of our difficulties. The Government Party definitely rejected the principle of outright confiscation of land. We wish to help the tenant to acquire land through some scheme of long term credit. Now our register of land ownership in China was and is grossly defective. We don't know what percentage of the farmer population are tenants, what percentage are independent farmers, and what percentage live by just owning land. Before the war we tried to make good this deficiency in knowledge. We tried to start an aerial survey of the land, but before we had gone far the war stopped us because we had to conserve all our aviation equipment and personnel for purposes of war.

Then with the coming of the war we have had inflation. The Government feels that in the period of inflation it should not extend credit but agrarian reform is one of the most important planks of the Government Party. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen put that plank there from the very beginning of his revolutionary movement. After this war we will make a systematic attempt at giving the land to the man who works on the land.

The development of China, both in the field of industry and in the field of agriculture, would require considerable foreign investment as well as the services of a large number of foreign experts for some years to come. The Chinese Government is therefore faced with the problem of attracting foreign capital and foreign experts to China.

In regard to foreign capital, the Government has taken some steps. In the old days we had a law which required that all foreign and Chinese joint enterprises should have 51 percent Chinese and only 49 percent foreign capital and that the Chairman of the Board and the Manager of such joint enterprise should be persons of Chinese nationality. That law was passed many years ago when we suffered from the regime of extra-territoriality and we were much afraid of political complications arising out of foreign investments in China. Now that the old unequal treaties have been abolished the fear of political complications is largely removed. Last fall my Government decided to revise that law. Hereafter in all joint enterprises there will be no legal limitations as to the relative shares of foreign and Chinese capital.

The Manager of a joint enterprise hereafter may be either a Chinese or a foreigner, but the Chairman of the Board must be a Chinese. The Chinese Government realizes that the laws relating to corporations need revision and steps have been taken to make a thorough survey of practices prevailing in the major industrial countries of the world.

Foreign investment in China may take a number of forms. First, it may be in the form of loans to the Chinese Government; secondly, it may take the form of joint enterprises between the Chinese Government and foreign capital or between Chinese private capital and foreign private capital. It may also take the form of concessions of franchises granted by the Chinese Government to foreign companies. It may further take the form of branch establishments of foreign corporations.

While the Chinese Government would be careful in guarding against political complications, the chief thought is to attract to China as much foreign capital as may be possible. You can be sure that the Chinese Government would meet foreign capital more than half way.

We realize that the economic development of China would require decades. The relationship that we wish to build up with foreign capital must be of long duration. If that relationship is to endure it must be mutually satisfactory.

You probably would like to know how China intends to pay back the advances which foreign capital may make to her. It is obvious that she can only repay foreign loans with her exports and for that reason commercial relationship after this war must provide two-way traffic. Otherwise economic development in any part of the world would be impossible. The export trade of China before the war consisted mainly of agricultural products and certain minerals. After the war, our export trade will have to start where it left off. In time we can expand the exports of China very largely. There are many lines of semi-artistic production which we have not exploited for our export trade.

Then China might look into markets in countries with a low standard of living which demand goods of very low price. Thirdly, we think we can do a great deal in the way of stimulating tourist trade in China. This problem of exports is a very complicated one. It requires strenuous efforts on the part of China. It also requires an enlightened attitude on the part of other countries.

Before I sit down I would like to call to your attention the necessary transition between the time of war and the time of serious economic reconstruction. The war will leave on our hands also many towns and villages to be rebuilt, diseases to be checked, flood areas to be rehabilitated, river dykes to be repaired, railways and highways to be restored. In other words, after the fighting has stopped, China will face many problems of relief and rehabilitation.

While the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration can be of great service to China in that transitional period, the problems are too great to be performed by that organization alone. China will have to mobilize her manpower for relief and rehabilitation as she has organized for war.

Besides relief in food, clothing and shelter, China's greatest need after the war will be the restoration of inland transportation. Just now there is an almost complete breakdown in communications with the result that the products of one province cannot be made available to people in other provinces. If we can get trucks moving on the highways and trains moving on the railways and boats moving on the rivers, China's own productive forces can be released for the relief of China's population.

The second greatest postwar need of China will be medical service. After seven long years of malnutrition, the sickness rate has gone up. We are afraid that the movement of millions of war refugees across the country after this war might spread disease. The Government is determined to make a supreme effort to prevent plague in

China after this war. For this reason we expect UNRRA to give China all possible aid in medical service.

China, as you know, is largely an agricultural country. Her richest fields are along the rivers. They have to be guarded against floods with dykes. During the war some of the dykes have been broken with the result that vast areas of good cultivated land have been flooded. Other dykes have gone without repair. The rehabilitation of the flooded areas would restore many families to the land. The repair of dykes would prevent floods which might be very disastrous. In the rehabilitation of flooded areas and the repair of dykes we also expect substantial aid from UNRRA.

The Chinese Government has formulated a co-ordinated plan for relief and rehabilitation. In drafting that plan we had the technical assistance of experts sent by the Director-General of UNRRA to China for that purpose. We hope for the complete realization of the plan.

Gentlemen, I have indicated briefly and simply the major lines of economic development in postwar China. I have also indicated the most urgent needs of China in relief and rehabilitation.

We believe that we can build up a much stronger China, a much healthier and wealthier China, a China that can take care of the peace in the Far East without relying upon outside aid, a China which while helping to preserve peace throughout the world will be no menace to any country. We believe we can build up a China which will be economically strong, and at the same time contribute to the common prosperity of the world. Economics, I believe, is the key to many of China's problems. With economic development many of the weaknesses that we find in China today will disappear. Naturally, we think and hope that with China's economic development, Canada —our close neighbour—will be sympathetic and helpful, and I wish our Canadian friends to consider this question: Would not a strong and prosperous China on our side of the Pacific contribute to the security and prosperity of Canada on this side of the Pacific?

"GOING ON TO THE END"

An Address By

PERCY JAMES PHILIP

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, October 5th, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: Today, instead of introducing our guest speaker, it might be more fitting if I were simply to present him to you.

He was first introduced to the Club by President G. Howard Ferguson in 1940. He has been introduced by each president in succession, by President Sanderson, President MacBeth, President Humphreys and now for the fifth season is to bring us a message.

Surely such an unusual record might reasonably entitle him to proceed without further introduction, but, since we have a radio audience, may I say for their information that our guest speaker is Mr. Percy J. Philip, Ottawa Correspondent of *The New York Times*. Previous to his coming to Canada, he had been for a number of years correspondent of *The Times* in Paris, France.

Gentlemen: A great speaker from a great paper will now address you on the topic "Going On To The End".

Mr. P. J. Philip: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Nothing has pleased and encouraged me more during these four years that I have spent in Canada than the compliment you have paid me by inviting me back each year to report to you on the progress of the War. At times it has been a pretty grim report. Yet we have never been discouraged, never lost heart.

When I first had the honour of addressing your club, in the dark days of November 1940, I began with the statement: "I am sure that we can win this war". You and

I knew that there was little enough at that time to justify such optimism. We were fighting alone and almost unarmed except for our courage. In the next two years the picture I had to paint, if it was to be true, was of desperate need and urgency. Hitler held all Europe from the heart of Russia to the Pyrenees, from the Arctic to the Aegean Sea. In the Atlantic his U-boats were taking dreadful toll of our shipping and our Seamen. England was torn and rent by the bombs of the Luftwaffe. We lost great ships and gallant men when the Japanese treacherously attacked the American Fleet and brought us into that war. They were bitter years as we fought with varied fortunes in Africa and waited for the day when we would have enough trained men and planes and tanks and guns and bombs to hit back as Churchill promised we would fifty and hundred-fold.

When I spoke to you in January of this year I felt justified in amending my original statement to make it read: "We can win the war against Nazi Germany this year." Well, gentlemen, as a prophet I have not done so badly. We are going to come near it. We have come through the greatest danger that has ever threatened our race, our Christian civilization and human liberty since these things became known of men. However it comes and whenever it comes the end of this struggle is not now in doubt. But I am of those who, knowing the Germans and the ruthlessness of the Nazi regime, believe that in the months ahead we must be prepared to face the bloodiest, most obstinate fighting and the greatest nerve strain of the whole war. We have seen how in these last two months isolated German garrisons at Brest, at Le Havre, at Boulogne and Calais have held out stubbornly even when they knew that all hope for them was lost. Along both frontiers they were fighting with a ferocity that has checked the advance of the Russians, the Americans and ourselves. It is clear that they hope to try to keep the invaders out until winter comes. That is what we would do—and whatever we may think of Hitler and his gang, let us be fair to them and to ourselves and admit that they are fighting men.

If we are to see the end this year, or in the spring, we must go on as grimly, as earnestly and completely as we have done at any time in these past five years.

To me it sometimes seems like a miracle that we have come through as we have done. The contrast is so sharp, so violent between what is happening now and what happened four years ago. I saw the tragedy of Holland and Belgium and France in 1940, when the Nazis "blitzed" their way across these countries, assured and fiercely proud of their immense superiority in armaments and in numbers. It did not seem possible that we could hold them off and beat them. I have always had a certain sympathetic understanding of those in France who abandoned their lost battle because they could not see any prospect of Russia or the United States coming in and did not believe it possible that the British peoples alone could hold out. But these people backed the wrong horse. Only a handful led by General de Gaulle believed in us. Sometimes, it has seemed to me our loyalty to him has been far short of his to us.

The miracle has happened and it is in no humble mood that we can look back on it today. It was a miracle of our making—all of us—but we can all take pride in what we have done, in the kind of people we are. What I find most satisfactory is that we of the British nations especially, and the home country most of all, have done what we have done so steadily, so calmly, without any nonsense of great gestures and extravagant claims. We have never become hysterical and we have never become boastful. We entered the war delibrately, for a cause which we felt to be compelling and right, and we have fought it deliberately without ambition or passion, or fear, or illusion. It was just a job to be done.

What above all has seemed to me to mark our performance as great, is that we have not had to have recourse to any violent changes of method and regime. In these five years of great emergency we have not lost a single essential liberty. Our institutions, from the Monarchy, which unites the Empire in a Family group, down to our luncheon clubs, have stood the strain and set high example without change or need for amendment. In every one of our countries discussion and criticism has remained free in Parliament, in the press, in public assembly. Our governments with the law courts and the police have helped maintain and organise but have never pressed down on the liberty of our collective and individual lives. We have had price ceilings and rationing and controls of one kind and another but they have never been arbitrary and there is no section of the community in any British nation which can fairly complain that it has been harshly or unnnecessarily constrained or asked to make greater sacrifice than any other.

We have every reason to be proud of ourselves for we have proved that we are, in the real sense of the word, mature self-governing peoples, who do not need governments to do our thinking for us or any self-appointed individuals, acting in the name of the State, to dictate our course. It has been out of the conscience, the intelligence, the courage and the capacity for organisation and improvisation of all our people educated in the use of freedom that victory has come. If there has been any miracle it has been that our queer monarchic parliamentary democracy, with its unwritten constitution, its constant querulous argument, its human mixture of loyalty, dispute, egoism and indifference, that looked like chaos, should have in the end beaten the great stream-lined totalitarian machines that seemed so impressive and so efficient. That is a miracle that is worth moralising on. It is something that we should constantly remember when we try to plan the future.

There have been from time to time a good many critics of our hap-hazard way of life. One might say that the woods are full of them. They crop up especially at times like these, when a great effort has been made and a great emergency overcome, and seek to tell us how we are to do better in future. Now, it is not for me, who am just a reporter of what men say and do, to minimize or criticise these reformers and their ideologies. But looking back over these five years as we are doing today I think that we are entitled to claim that we owe less to the brilliant ideas of the political prophets and pundits than we do to the homespun courage and tough fiber of a great many very ordinary people.

I was very much impressed with this fact this past spring when I visited England for the first time since just after the war began. It has been nearly thirty years since I lived as a resident there and it was almost as a foreigner that I went back to see how my own people had behaved and were behaving under the strain.

Now, I don't want to brag about them—that would be unbecoming and they would not like it—for they have become even more sensitive than usual about anything that savors of publicity and advertising. You see, they have endured too much for that sort of thing. They all know that their next door neighbor is just as much a hero as they are, and none of them have any vanity about their personal heroism. Blitz bombs and doodlebugs have a way of curing that effectively.

On the other hand I found these English a very confident people. In a way it could be claimed that they are enjoying war. That may seem an odd thing to say but I would like to try to explain it, for it applies to the troops over there as well as to civilians. On this side of the ocean, where we have fought the war in comfort, vicariously, we have become accustomed to thinking of the people over there with sympathy, pitying them because of the blackout, the bombing, the strain and constant danger, the shortness of food and the dullness of the diet. Underneath that sympathy there has been a tendency to thank God that we are not as these others are and to feel just the least bit smug about it.

But, believe me, we are wasting our sympathy and exaggerating our good fortune. I found over there far less discontent, certainly far less complaining, than I have noticed here in the course of some elections that have been held or are in process. These people in Britain, and this is true also of those who are fighting, are proud of themselves and of each other. They are enjoying the struggle as a great-hearted horse enjoys pulling a full load or thundering down the race track. They may be a bit weary but they are buoyed up with legitimate pride in what they have done and with the certain hope of victory.

One day I met a man who had been bombed out of two houses, had lost his business and taken a small government job, who spent two nights a week as a fire-watcher and spent every week end practising with the Home Guard. He seemed to think it quite a normal life and said to me quite seriously and with sympathy: "It must be pretty dull over there in Canada." It had not struck me that way before, but my respect for the truth compelled me to admit the estimate at least on a relative basis.

Yet in fundamental things I found that life in England has not changed greatly. The wind has been violent but the little roots of the old tree have stood firm. The first thing that impressed me and my Canadian companions when we landed at a little port near Glasgow was that we could get beer in a railway station buffet. It was not very good beer and it was very expensive compared with the old days, for it carries a heavy tax, but it was beer and later I was to find that one of the really solid foundations of British resistance has been the age-old institution of the "pub" where men could gather in a companionable way and drink a glass and talk over their fortunes and their misfortunes, crack jokes and comfort each other.

In these poor men's clubs I heard more commonsense talk about the war and life than I had heard in all my wanderings about the world. There was not any nonsense about our wonderful tomorrows but there were plenty of stories that told what a wonderful world this is with its heroism, its endurance, its humor, its weaknesses, its sorrows, its pity and its continuous effort.

As well as to the pubs I went to the churches—quite a lot of them of different denominations and some without roofs and windows—for the churches seem to have had a special attraction for bombs and incendiaries. There was, I felt, a deeper meaning in the old prayer: "Give peace in our time, O Lord, for only Thou fightest for us, O God." But there was nothing maudlin in that prayer and nothing sentimental in the attitude of these people. They aren't putting the responsibility on God. They know that they have done their part and will go on doing it to the end.

In a Scottish Presbyterian church the minister with a realism which smacked of the Old Testament, and to my thinking expreesed the profound feeling of his congregation, added to his prayer for the fighting forces: "Give them courage, O God, and give our people courage always to fight for the right against evil." I think that old divine came much nearer to the core and centre of life than all those who put their trust in the signed word of governments and the complicated machinery of some new League of Nations.

What cowards and poltroons we would have been if in 1939 we had not replied at once to Hitler's challenge and gone to war for Poland. I believe that these English people don't really care who takes or gets the credit for winning the war. They like the record to be kept straight, as Mr. Churchill did when he made his report to Parliament last week, of what has been done in Normandy and Arnheim, in Africa, Italy and India. But they also remember, and they are content, that they went to war for the principle of liberty and the right of another nation to live, without waiting themselves to be attacked. It has cost them dearly but they know that they have earned the right to self-respect, which is a much greater thing than the applause of others. Perhaps it is that feeling which permits them to give credit and applause to all their friends and allies—and they do it generously, more generously than they get it.

I went to Parliament. It was on a day when Mr.

Churchill spoke on Foreign Policy. There were a few sharpshooters of the Shinwell type who took exception to what the Prime Minister had to say about Spain and its Government. There were some who thought that he was weakening because he said that the war had become less ideological. For myself, who saw something of the intricate wrong and right of the war in Spain and have reported the rise and fall of many ideologists, I know of no nation and no national or party leader or newspaper editor who is in a position to give any lesson in political judgment or in practical ideology to the British people and the King's First Minister.

Their Parliament is rather weary of itself. It has been in session a very long time in trying circumstances and has done an immense amount of good work. But everyone realises that it is not healthy to go on without conflict and change. They are puzzled about what will happen when they do have an election. The old party divisions have greatly disappeared and the party machines are rusty. In Parliament they still go through the motions of opposition and every now and then someone rises to remind Mr. Churchill that he is not God Almighty, just in case he should come to think that he is, which he doesn't.

But do not expect any revolutions in England. I found the Monarchy firmly established in the hearts and minds of the people because it satisfies both a personal and political need. The Royal Family is a type and pattern of that responsibility to society which is so marked a characteristic of the English educated classes. The King and Queen compel loyalty by the inspiration of their example as well as by their personal charm and in the Crown we have that unique and tremendous power for national unity, a head of the State who is above and outside politics.

There is another thing. Long before any other country of its importance the British tried the experiment of a Labor Government. It was not a bad, and it was not a very good government, but if it did not accomplish much it proved one thing, that the British people don't like doctrine and dogma and brain trust theories about how life and industry should be organised. They love liberty and personal privilege too much for that. Long before this Continent was discovered they made their King sign Magna Charta when he got the idea that he was the State, and they chopped off the head of another when they found him inclined towards divine totalitarianism. Believe me, the descendants of those Englishmen are not going to allow any person or party or class coterie of pseudo-intellectuals to dominate them even when they claim to govern in the name of the People.

I found the current of opinion ran in just the opposite direction. From top to bottom, including my two brothers and the girl who issued my ration card, I found everybody in revolt against State direction and being State employees. These peoples have accepted restrictions and State employment as a war necessity but just as soon as the war is over they are going to be free again to think for themselves, work for themselves, risk for themselves. I confess I prefer a sporting lot like that, who want to stand on their own feet, to those who are thinking only of security guaranteed by the State from the cradle to the grave, however excellent and needful some such protective measure for the weak may be.

A man who had been a great London merchant took me one day to see the Moorefields section of the city where twenty acres of business houses, the richest merchant community in the world, had been totally destroyed by bombs and fire. There is not a ledger left. But do not think these people are whining. This man told me that he had kept in touch with almost all of his two hundred former employees now in the forces or in government employ and that all of them were eager to start in with him again the moment the war is over and rebuild the firm.

You can't beat people like that. Those London merchants, whose adventures in trade opened up the whole world from China to Hudson's Bay, may have lost their fortunes, their offices, their markets and their ledgers, but they have not lost their courage and their enterprise. London City will rise again as great as ever for its people are a great-hearted people.

Just one more story. I went to Law Courts, for I am of those who believe that the administration of justice is a surer indication of a nation's health than all the laws there may be on the statute books. At Bow Street I ran into a nice little case. A policeman was on the witness stand telling how he had seen the accused enter parked automobiles in a street off Piccadilly and search the dashboard lockers as if she was looking for something. The accused who was a woman denied the charge and it was a case of her word against that of the policeman, who was trying to build up a case against her of having stolen clothing coupons.

The constable was very pat with his story but the English law had provided the accused with a counsel for defence who, with what is called an Oxford accent, began examining the witness. He seemed quite sympathetic, that being a trick of the trade, but suddenly he asked how the policeman had seen the accused without being himself seen. "You weren't hiding?" he snapped, for an English policeman must not be hiding. The policeman was a bit rattled but there was a long discussion as to just where the moon was and how he was in the shadow and she in the moonlight. "Looks rather like hiding," counsel remarked to the Magistrate. The woman who admitted that she had had some beer to drink and no dinner had been taking her dogs for a walk. Their photographs were produced and had an effect. Patiently the lawyer went on trying to shake the policeman's story. Quietly he dropped the question: "What first attracted your attention to this woman?" Unguardedly, sure of himself, the policeman answered: "She slammed the door of the car."

His Worship woke up with a start as if he had been roused by the slamming of the door. "Did she slam the doors of all the cars?" he asked. "Yes, Your Worship," the policeman stammered. He had gone too far and knew it. His Worship did not wait for more. "No woman, with two dogs on a lead, even when slightly intoxicated slams the doors of automobiles which she has entered with intent to steal," he snapped. "Case dismissed."

That instant dismissal of anything like an incipient Gestapo and the sight of a gipsy caravan all gaily painted in green and yellow, with baskets and babies hanging from it and old dogs running around biting their fleas, were perhaps the two things among many which did most to convince me that, by God, there is still liberty in England and we have not fought in vain.

You will excuse me. I know, that I have given so much of my time today to talking about England and the English. Certainly I do not wish to seem to detract from what any and all the others of the United Nations have done toward defeating Germany. I am always the first to admit and I think that we should all with humility remember that it has taken all of us together to do it. Yet I would underline this fact that the British have been in all the battles from the beginning. Brigaded with the Canadian 1st Army is a new 51st Highland division, which has taken the place of the old one which suffered so fearfully in the retreat of 1940 to St. Valery, which has fought in Africa and the Far East and has now taken its full revenge along with your fellows. That is only one unit of the British forces which have never given up, never ceased from fighting for over five years and will go on to the end not only against Germany but against Japan.

I have left myself too little time to talk about all our plans for the future, as I had intended to do—but perhaps that is just as well. We really can not hope to plan the future any better than we have planned the past and there are already signs of danger ahead. But there are one or two things that we can and must do. We have proved to ourselves and the rest of the world that our system of human liberty, inefficient as it may sometimes seem, is stronger than the strongest man-power machine ever welded by a fanatic faith and a fanatic will. We have demonstrated that happy peoples, who keep a sense of humor in the midst of tragedy, are better fighters than average-hearted men. We have learned by bitter experience that not even the strongest nation can hope to win a war with modern weapons alone and that it is only by grouping their forces that the decent people of this world can expect to resist evil. But even when we have won and Hitler and Hitlerism have been destroyed do not let us imagine that we will have destroyed evil, that no new challenge to our courage and ability will ever rise again. Of the mystery of human life and action we know only a very small part. Let us go humbly toward the future, neither promising nor expecting too much but striving as we have striven during these past five years for what we believe to be right and prepared to fight for it if need be. That is the only road along which not only safety but honor lies.

"STOCK-TAKING FOR THE POSTWAR"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. NORMAN M. MacLEOD

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, October 12th, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: When you pick up your paper to scan the news of the day you give, as a rule, scant attention to the facilities through which the news has been presented.

Our guest speaker today is one of a great corps of people who gather material, sift it to remove as many errors as possible and arrange and classify it for presentation to us in the form of news and views.

Mr. Norman M. MacLeod was born in Toronto, educated in St. Andrew's College, Queen's and McMaster Universities. For more than twenty years, he has been a member of the Press Gallery in Ottawa.

It will be three years next January since he spoke to us previously. We welcome him back today to address us on the topic of "Stock-Taking for the Postwar".

MR. NORMAN M. MACLEOD: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Whenever I am invited to speak before this Club I am reminded of Prime Minister Disraeli's advice to one of his parliamentary followers against speaking in a certain House of Commons debate. The follower did not altogether like the advice. "If I do not speak," he declared, "my constituents will wonder why I did not." Disraeli's reply was: "It is far better to have your constituents wondering why you didn't speak, than to have them wondering why you did."

Despite the obvious moral of this story, I am with you today. I am here for two reasons. The first is that we are, happily, in the victory phase of a terrible war, and consequently in the opening phase of a new struggle. We are being challenged now to mould a world worthy to stand as the product of the heroism and sacrifice which bore it. It must be a world in which the human spirit can know not only the blessings of peace, but also the true dignity that comes from the pursuit of worthwhile aims and the realization of worthwhile ideals.

The struggle to achieve this world calls for no less effort by way of thought, determination and sincerity than we have given to the war years. It is a struggle from which none of us can claim exemption. Our sense of social responsibility conscripts us. Our feeling of deep and humble obligation to the sacrifice by which our freedom to plan our own destiny has been preserved to us makes us eager volunteers.

The second reason is frankly a personal one, which I will mention only briefly. As a political journalist who lives daily under the shadow of national affairs, with the haze of propaganda from the different political parties drifting about him, my constant fear is lest I become lost in the woods for failure to recognize the trees.

In this circumstance, an opportuntiy to discuss with an audience such as this, certain national trends, and to evaluate some of the principles upon which, either wisely or recklessly, we are building our nation's future, is not only welcome but also highly useful. It forces me to detach myself from the daily stream of Parliament Hill events and view them in perspective. And I know I need not labor to anyone in this gathering the importance of perspective in these fast-moving times in which we are living.

I purpose to build my brief address to you today around the proposition that our aim, as Canadians planning for the postwar, is the achievement of a workable world in which peace and the human spirit can live and flourish together. No one here realizes more clearly than I how general a formula that proposition is. Nor is anyone here more conscious than I of the peril of just such general formulae to us as a people. We are too inclined to confuse them with solutions for our problems.

Especially is this a danger where a general proposition carries any emotional appeal. We say, for example, that never must there be another depression such as the early 1930's. Or we say that after the war there must be jobs for all workers and a standard of living in keeping with the true dignity of the human race. Having said these things—perhaps because we have glowed with self-righteousness in the saying of them—we are disposed too often to feel that we have settled something.

Gentlemen, I believe it is a very practical thing, sometimes,—and especially in times like these when we are looking towards new horizons—for us to realize the futility of brave words or mere good-will by themselves to settle anything. For proof of this we don't have to go back to the classic instance of King Canute. We have only to go back to the early 1930's themselves. During those depression years, contrary to the impression which one might form from the tone of some of the references to them today, a spirit of human good-will perhaps unparalleled in world history battled valiantly but vainly to overcome basic economic forces.

We talk today as though men walked the streets and farmers lost their lands in those early 1930's because the public conscience of that day was indifferent to their plight. The truth is, if we only pause to remember it, that rarely, if ever, has the public conscience been more humanely aroused, and that the depression which persisted through the 1930's would not have endured one day if good-will had had the power to end it, or if the panaceas of economists had held a cure for it.

Do not forget that the 1930's marked the era of Roosevelt's championship of the "forgotten man"; that in Great Britain the humanitarian Ramsay MacDonald was in power; that in the United States not millions but billions were sent vainly to bolster farm prices and to finance all sorts of public works; that in Canada much more than a billion dollars was added to the public debt for relief and recovery projects. Do not forget also that the glib bureaucratic economists, who today are assuring us, with disturbing lack of concrete detail, that our peacetime national income can be maintained at its wartime level, also were with us in those days.

Yet what was the combined effect of the intense goodwill and humanitarian impulsiveness of the period, of the daring experimentaiton in large-scale expenditures of public funds, of the scope given to the new school economists to apply their theories? You know the answer. You know that it took the mighty but tragic impetus of war to lift this country and the United States to the plane of full employment.

I have said enough, I think, to dispose of any illusion that we can enter into the brave new world of our dreams through the easy, inviting portals of wishful thinking, or simply by taking the all-too-willing hand of bureaucratic guidance. Having said this, may I also say at once that I am no defeatist in respect to the postwar destiny that Canadians can claim as their own.

I believe implicitly and unreservedly that once our people see an issue clearly, their capacity for achievement is unlimited. I know you must share that conviction, for it is a faith which has been established beyond any dispute by the exploits of our people in two world wars. With our qualities of national genius, of national perseverence and of national character, we Canadians are invincible people once we target our purpose.

The national target which I raised before you a moment ago was a postwar world in which peace and the human spirit can flourish together. Now, peace by its very nature cannot be national, but must be international. It is something, in other words, that we cannot achieve alone. We must seek it in company like-minded to ourselves and in co-operation with whatever world agency offers the best hope of its effective realization.

I need not ask the members of this Club where we can be certain of finding peoples like-minded to ourselves or an agency better than any other to serve the cause of world peace effectively. You know that we will find both the peoples and the agency in the British Empire. You know that neither in World War I nor in World War II was it the British Empire that betrayed world peace. You know that in the interval between the two world wars the British Empire had no other world aim than peace. You know that when peace comes nothing will make it stronger than a united British Empire; nothing will make it more precarious than a British Empire at cross-purposes in its own councils.

Gentlemen, is it not time that not only clubs like yours realized this, but that our people from coast-to-coast and in every Province realized it too? The realization need not carry with it any lessening of pride in our own nationhood. On the contrary, it calls for an even greater pride arising out of our recognition of the great destiny into which that nationhood, in the fullness of time, now is being called.

It is understandable that in our period of national adolescence we should have set high store upon the events which raised us finally to the dignity of full nationhood and individual sovereignty. When Canada through the late Sir Robert Borden became a separate signatory to the Treaty of Peace at Versailles it was a milestone in our constitutional development and worthy as such to be recognized. It was another milestone when the late Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe signed the first treaty which Canada had ever negotiated in her own right with a foreign power. The Statute of Westminster was still a further occasion for national self-congratulation, with its effect of repealing the Colonial Laws Validity Act and making Canadian law in the Dominion superior whenever it came into conflict with an Imperial statute.

But has the time not now come when we should consider these delights in status and stature as belonging to a period of national adolescence that is past? Canada as a nation now is of age. She has graduated to full partnership in not only the greatest Empire which the world has ever known, but also the only Empire of modern times which has ever accepted the protection of civilization against the forces of militant evil as the responsibility of its greatness.

Many of the members of this Club are business men. I ask them: What would they think of the judgment of a man who grew up, say, in some great departmental store enterprise, who advanced in importance in the business, until he was on the point of becoming a full partner, and then declined the partnership to run a small neighbourhood store of his own? Gentlemen, Canada today will be in that position if she fails—as there is danger that she may fail— to recognize the Empire destiny which simply awaits her fulfilment.

That most honored and honorable firm, the British Empire yet unlimited, is looking to us to take our place as a full and senior partner in its great world undertaking. Our voice in its councils can be as great as the responsibility for leadership that we are willing to accept. There is no other organization through which we can so surely guarantee the future security of our people. There is no other association from which we can obtain for them such solid economic advantages. There is no other agency through which the resources that we wish to dedicate to the case of world peace can be so effectively used.

Now, nothing is to be gained by avoiding frank discussion. The spectacle of aggressive nationalism in Quebec Province has been too apparent in recent times for us to blind ourselves to it. We must recognize that we have in our midst a problem of national unity in connection with this dominant Empire issue. We are accustomed to hear Quebec blamed for this. Gentlemen, as one whose Empire instincts have the same Ontario roots as your own, I suggest that we should ask ourselves seriously if we are being entirely fair to our French-Canadian compatriots in our criticism of them. Is there no responsibility on the door-step of us English-speaking Canadians for the vogue which nationalism has succeeded in gaining in French-speaking Canada?

I contend there is. Just ponder this thought. Ever since the last war successive governments, Conservative and Liberal alike, have preached to the people of Quebec that true national dignity is inseparable from complete sovereignty. They have preached it, furthermore, with an emphasis which should not make it surprising if some French-speaking listeners have confused complete sovereignty with isolation from British policy.

For example, every situation in which we have acted alone, where prevoiusly we would have acted through the Empire, has been represented to Quebec by speakers for successive governments as an occasion for national pride. It has been so each time we have negotiated and signed a foreign treaty on our own account. It has been so whenever we have despatched our own delegation to some international conference at which, a few years ago, the United Kingdom delegation would have represented us. It has been so on the several occasions when we have made plain that we are not committed by some treaty made by the British Government. And it has been so notably whenever we have opened a legation or an embassy in a country where formerly our interests were represented by Britain.

Gentlemen, let us be honest with ourselves and fair with Quebec. For years we have asked French-speaking Canada to applaud us every time that, in our high-spirited progress through national adolescence, we have hacked another Empire tie away. Now, when we find that a section of our Quebec compatriots have taken to heart the nationalistic lessons we have taught them, when we discover that their instinctive re-action is not one of Imperialistic fervor, we profess to be shocked. I suggest to you that no little of the blame rests with ourselves.

So much for the question of responsibility. We still are left with the situation. We are left with it, furthermore, at a time when it is vital to our postwar aspirations for peace, that we play our part in the association of British peoples with all the strength with which national unity can endow us.

What are we to do about this problem? I suggest that there are at least two things. In the first place, we must cultivate a sincere appreciation of the contribution that our French-speaking compatriots, through their distinctive culture and their versatility as a people, are capable of making to our genius as a nation. In the second place, we must deal honestly and frankly with the people of Quebec in approaching them on matters of national politics. Instead of backing away from the theme of Empire among them, we must stress it. We must tell them frankly that the days of our national adolescence, in which questions of status and stature were all-important, have passed. We must awaken them to an appreciation of the value of the Empire partnership as affording Canadians, irrespective of their race, their greatest possible scope for development and self-expression as a free people.

In brief, gentlemen, we must do something that I do not believe, despite its importance, we have ever yet really attempted. We must "sell" Quebec on the privileges and advantages of Canada's leadership in a close partnership of Empire. It is the only way by which true national unity in this Dominion can ever be won. And it should not be by any means an impossible task. If, gentlemen, we believe in the Empire—as we do—then surely we should be able to give expression, at least with clear logic if the gift of eloquence is denied us, to the faith that is in us.

In addition to a world of peace, we want our postwar world to be a workable world. By a workable world I assume that we mean basically one whose functioning economy provides jobs for all able and anxious to work. But mere jobs will not be quite enough to meet the specifications of the postwar world of our aspirations. In addition, they must be jobs that will pay wages sufficient to maintain an adequate standard of living. They must also be jobs that will satisfy the normal individual's desire to be engaged in work that is socially useful. Boon-doggling jobs will never provide the self-respect upon which the human spirit feeds, any more than will so-called state "allowances" prevent the deterioration of national morale when they are made the substitutes for adequate income from a worker's own efforts.

Now, I do not think that anyone will dispute the social validity of any of these aims. Taken all in all, they simply mean that we are seeking a postwar world which, in addition to being workable in the sense that it will provide basic employment for our people, will also be a fitting dwelling place for that sacred link with divinity which we all share, namely, the human spirit.

That is the ideal. What are the steps which we are taking to make it real?

The answer to this question cannot be given without an excursion into the realm of fundamental national economics. I promise that I will be brief and that I will not weary you with any burdensome statistics. In the first place, in normal times approximately 25 percent of our employment arises directly, and another 25 percent indirectly, out of our export trade. That is to say, 50 percent of our normal peacetime employment depends on the business we do in foreign markets, either directly in producing goods for them, or indirectly as the result of the purchasing power which these export sales bring into our domestic market.

Recently some of our economists have expressed this situation in another, and perhaps even a more impressive, way. By relating the statistical line representing our exports to the statistical line representing our national income, they have established that for every 29 cents in our export trade there is an increase of one dollar in our national income.

Lest these considerations should not yet impress you with the crucial postwar importance to us of export trade, I will mention just three other facts. The first is that, when demobilization comes, we will need at least one and one-half million jobs for Canadians now in the Armed Services or employed in war industry. The second is that $5,000,000,000 of our present national income of $10,000,000,000 is derived from war sources, and will have to be replaced with the coming of peace. The third is that the difference between the peak of the boom in 1928-29 and the low point of the depression in 1932-33 was a drop in national income of less than two and one-half billion dollars.

Let us now return to our questions as to what we are doing to bring about the employment conditions that are basic to our conception of a workable postwar world. For now we have some idea of where we must look for our answer. We know now that a positive answer should be able to recite some substantial measures that we are taking to assure our success in export markets.

Some of you gentlemen are exporters. You know from experience the difficulties you face in foreign markets. You have first-hand knowledge of the important factor that price is in any market, once quality is standardized. You realize, too, that in many of the new markets towards which we are looking after the war—notably South America and Asia—price competition will be more important than ever, due to the relatively low purchasing power of the masses of the people in those areas.

You know, furthermore, that ability to compete in foreign markets depends almost always on technical efficiency, and that foreign business can only be held if plants are kept up to highest productive standards by constant re-investment in latest equipment. You know that export business does not just "grow up" like Topsy, but that substantial exploratory and initial expenditures frequently are necessary to establish it. You know, above all, that the capital which you risk in operations abroad lies very definitely in the category of venture capital.

Now, has there been any suggestion of policies to assist Canadian exporters under any of these basic headings? Is there, for example, a definite project for getting postwar taxation down to or below prewar levels so that our exporters may meet any price competition? Or has there been any proposal for granting an income tax concession for monies spent in exploring for export business? Or, finally, has there been any suggestion that some distinction should be made in taxation law in favor of venture capital?

Unfortunately and disturbingly, the answer to all these questions is still in the negative. In place of a policy of taxation at or below prewar levels, we are being told to expect a postwar budget of at least one billion dollars. just twice the national outlay in the last year before the war.

We are told that this billion-dollar budget—Mr. Coldwell says it will be one billion and one-quarter and the *Financial Post* says it will be one billion and three-quarters—will be necessary to finance a social security program. There are to be state allowances, housing bonusses, health insurance, credit schemes for industry and farmers alike, an elaborate program of public works, and various other paternalistic measures.

Empire Club members, we are told that this billion-dollar budget and these variegated measures constitute a social security program! Well, they either constitute that, or they constitute the greatest political Christmas tree that Canadian politics has ever known. From the fact that no political party is opposing them, but that all are more or less clustering around them, I think we are justified in suspecting that the latter theory is the one to which we should hold.

For, as a social security program, a budget that will burden an export trade to the extent that our markets—and the jobs dependent upon them—will pass to our competitors is a contradiction in terms. But as a Christmas tree proposition, a billion-dollar budget, supported in varying degrees by all political parties, is a perfectly understandable phenomenon. It is difficult for any political party to get the people to vote against a Christmas tree—unless they can remember how bare of everything save the trimming every Christmas tree they have ever seen was, on December 26th.

Gentlemen, I contend that there can be no social security program to compare with one which is concerned with jobs for our people. If jobs could be supplied by paternalist government action, I think it is safe to say that we would not today be witnessing the intense struggle that is being waged among the political parties. For parties in power long ago would have discovered that all they needed to do to retain the reins of office was to provide prosperity and employment for their people. The fact that they have been unable down through history to entrench themselves by such action should be the warning that there is no magic for us and for them and no long-range virtue, in policies of economic paternalism.

You can easily understand why this is so if you go back to the first principles upon which the state is founded. The state is an organization in which a people unite for ends of security against aggression and for ends of internal law and order. As society has become more complex, ends of culture, enlightenment, and the control of undue class privilege have become legitimate state interests. But in none of its functions is the state a creator of economic wealth, nor is it possible that it ever should be. Wealth by its nature becomes a social commodity only after some human agency has given it marketable form or set a marketable value upon it.

Let me give you an example: We are coming into possession of new wealth today in the Yellowknife and other areas of our great North-West. But so long as these areas were just Crown lands, they didn't constitute a source of wealth to which a government could turn to finance paternalistic legislation. It was not until the prospector had uncovered their minerals, until investors had risked their capital, and until mine workers had applied their labor, that the wealth of these areas became negotiable.

In other words, a government has no magic lamp to which it can resort for the funds to finance paternalistic policies. Its only source of funds for such a purpose must be the tax-gatherer, adding to the cost of our national production, casting the shadow of a new income tax burden over the farmers on our back concessions, increasing steadily the deductions from the pay envelope of the industrial worker.

In short, it is the final contradiction of a so-called social security program that ultimately it has to impose its burden upon the nation's workers because there is no source of unique wealth upon which the state itself can draw.

Gentlemen, with our very wonderful nation standing on the threshold of the postwar era toward which we have dreamed in the dark years when we needed some dreams to sustain us, I have tried to take stock briefly today of what the Empire must mean to us, and we to the Empire. I have held up a problem of national unity which it is vital for us to solve. I have suggested that in policies aimed at trade and production, which alone can create new wealth upon which we all can draw, the solution of our employment problem must lie.

Gentlemen, this is one course. There is another. And in this very hour which is witnessing among our enemies the national disaster to which the doctrine of a corporate state inevitably leads, we are being urged to entrust our destiny to state schemes and bureaucratic planners. Are you going to yield your judgment to what you know is false doctrine, to what you know is unworkable economics, or are you going to stand loyal to your conception of a workable world, which must be brought into actuality by realistic policy and which is unattainable by Utopian politics?

"POSTWAR TREATMENT OF GERMANY"

An Address By

GILBERT HARDING, M.A.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, October 19, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: In the year 1622, there was formed in Rome a college of cardinals, charged with the management of missions. It was known as the "College of Propaganda". The word "Propaganda" later came into use as applying to any organization for spreading a particular doctrine or system of principles.

Until the Nazis appropriated the term, and debased it, as they have with other things, the word did not have any unsavory implications. But the Nazi doctrines, with Nazi deception and Nazi inhumanity, have made us suspicious of any so-called propaganda, even though its content may be entirely worthy.

This Empire Club exists to promote the interests of Canada and the British Empire. In the respected sense, this is a platform of propaganda. There are other channels, including the printed word, the picture industry, and communication systems, such as telegraph, telephone and radio.

Today, on this platform, we are to hear a message from a young man, who is associated with the British Broadcasting Corporation. He has been in an unique position to study the methods of Nazi propaganda and the political implications which it promoted.

For fifteen years prior to the war, he made frequent trips to Germany. Since the war, as a member of the staff of BBC. he has given special study to the propaganda coming from German sources. He has, also, I am sure, found it necessary to formulate plans to assist in overcoming the evil which this propaganda has created.

Mr. Gilbert Harding obtained his Master of Arts degree from Cambridge University. He studied law and is a member of Gray's Inn, one of the four great legal societies of England. He has served as correspondent for the *London Times*. He has recently come to Canada as Canadian program assistant for the BBC, where he is associated with Mr. S. J. de Lotbiniere, who spoke to us six months ago and whom we are delighted to welcome back to our Head Table today.

Gentlemen, I present to you Mr. Gilbert Harding, M.A., who will address us on the topic "Postwar Treatment of Germany".

MR. GILBERT HARDING, M.A.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: In case what I have to say to you may sound something like a sermon, I brought my text with me and the text is compiled from cuttings from the Toronto newspapers which, I hope, is a sign that people who read them may already have some idea of what I am talking about. I have here an excellent precis of the views of Lord Vansittart and Professor Gilbert Murray written by Mr. McAree of the *Globe and Mail;* I have the controversy which attended the showing of the film "The Seventh Cross" in Toronto—about which I will have a good deal to say in a minute—and I have here the most terrible thing of all, a statement that many youths say that a new war is possible within 25 years.

A recent poll of Canadian boys between the ages of 15 and 24 reveals that 46 percent of them expect that there will be another war within 25 years. Then again in the newspapers of Toronto we have the daily casualty lists of the people who will not come back to Canada or, if they do come back, will return in a crippled or wounded condition. Then we have the atrocities which are daily committed by our cruel and vicious enemies, the Germans, and I wonder how many of us will remember them in ten or eleven years' time.

There are so many things to think about nowadays. Politics loom large in the Canadian world. There are all kinds of topics which people are able to discuss with varying degrees of heat and bitterness. Some people even find time to discuss the supply of whiskey and beer, but *this* topic which we are going to discuss today is, I think, the most important and the most vital and the most urgent problem which we can possibly discuss in a time when so many Canadian youths can be so pessimistic.

Surely each and everyone of us asks the question: "What do we want after the war?" Of course what we all want after the war is that this time shall be the *last* and can we do anything about it? I think we can. That is why, Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Emprie Club, I am grateful for the opportunity of coming today to give an airing to a bee which has been buzzing in my bonnet for a very long time and if I can introduce the bee to buzz in yours I shall be very pleased.

This is the second time in the lifetime of most of us that the Germans have forced war upon the world. It is the second time that Canadians have crossed the Atlantic, leaving the fishing boats of British Columbia and Nova Scotia, the farms on the prairies, and the villages and towns of Ontario, and, if it is not the last, I think we shall all have to bear a certain amount of responsibility. When the war is over we shall talk about the bitter glories of the war, the deeds of heroism, the contribution of a whole people, but we shall, I am afraid, unless history fails to repeat herself, very quickly forget the cost of the war, the waste of treasure, waste of life, the maimed, the crippled, the blind, the widows, the fatherless, and above all the deep legacy of hatred which any war leaves. And the hatred which this war is going to leave, I think, will be bottomless.

So, there is a great need that every one of us should be vigilant against anything that looks like letting the same thing happen again. We must be vigilant against people we know are our enemies and against those whom we do not recognize as our enemies and even against people who indeed are not our enemies but enemies of peace, the sentimental, the genuinely misguided, the stubborn and the obstinate, who are always prepared to explain things away. And we must not forget the vicious power of those greedy unprincipled men who will do anything to increase and preserve their private and personal fortunes while neglecting the general interests of the world at large.

Let us be careful that we study foreign affairs. Up to now, foreign affairs have been the privilege, the private and peculiar privilege of a small body of men—like the people who have gone as Ambassadors and First Secretaries and Counsellors of State. Well, they have made a sorry mess of things, I think, possibly because their actions have not been called in question enough. There is some excuse for the story of the soldier in Whitehall in London who stopped a passer-by and said: "Can you tell me what side the Foreign Office is on?" And the answer was: "I've often wondered, but I hope to God it's on our side."

In order to show the danger of public apathy let us, just for a very short time, look back no further than 1931. It might be impolitic to look back further than that, but 1931 will do, the year in which Japan launched her first attack on China, an attack which she was able to maintain right down to 1941, not without, and I will go no further than that, not without assistance from great countries who are now fighting, whether they like it or not, for what is known as Democracy. There is no doubt, I am afraid, that the assistance given to Japan by the armament manufacturers of Great Britain and the United States did a great deal to bring about the misery and horror which has disfigured the history of the Far East. The men who made money out of that munitions trade must be held responsible for the death of millions of Chinese.

Then there is the Anglo-German Naval Pact, which most people have forgotten, a secret agreement that Germany should start building her pocket battleships again, and then Italy and Abyssinia. Do you remember the tragicomic failure of the League of Nations, to stop that war of aggression—a war that was condemned by the League of Nations? And why did they fail? Because they did not impose that most effective sanction of all, oil. Oil poured into Italy so that she could drive her aeroplanes and drop mustard gas on the naked Abyssinians and drive her tanks and so that Mussolini and Badoglio, now our friend, could go spanking along in great motor cars between the rows of Abyssinians whom they had liberated, those whom they hadn't gassed or shot—with the help of the oil from the Persian Gulf.

And then Franco, 1936! The rebellion—for it was nothing else—of a sadistic, flatulent reactionary against the lawfully elected government of his own country. True, Spanish politics were in a pretty chaotic state, but what do you expect after the history of Spain? They were used to being ruled by lecherous and drunken libertines, and against the fashion of the old times they turned and made a government of their own, an enlightened Socialist government. But there were not found wanting people to say it was too left wing, and there were other people who were able to raise that hideous cry of "Communism!" and so Franco was allowed by a policy of non-intervention to destroy the Democracy of Spain. Let us hope it will not last very much longer.

All the time, you see, there was a fear of the Russian bogey; you only had to mention Russia to make a lot of people at once see red and change from being normal balanced men into gibbering lunatics; you only had to mention Russia and Communism and everyone went "gooey." They thought, "Anything rather than that, anything rather than Russia." And so, when the Russians attacked Finland, which we now know they were quite right in doing, our mothers and our sisters gave up their fur coats and people were asked to give up their warm bed socks so that the Finns could fight the Russians, oblivious as we were to the fact that the Finns were German agents.

Well, I must not go into that much longer. Let us skip a certain amount of history and come down to Munich when Russia was left out. This is not, by the way, an appeal for understanding with Russia. It is just simply incidental. At the same time I wonder how many people in Toronto saw a play called "There Shall Be No Night" in which you probably remember those brilliant actors, Lunt and Fontanne, showed the courage of the Finns under Russian tyranny. Well now, of course, they have had to alter that and in London we see them showing the courage of the Greeks under German tyranny. You do not lose a good box office appeal just for the sake of truth.

This time there is less danger of apathy, but people have very short memories, so let us briefly review Germany's record since 1918. Again I am glad to say that I found in the Toronto newspapers, not long ago, a review of a book which I hope some people have read called, "Germans, Not Nazis," which lends point to a good deal of what I want to say.

The Versailles Treaty, which was signed in the Hall of Mirrors outside Paris, was no sooner signed than people began to condemn it—not only the Germans, but people like me as well. At that time, no, not at that time, but later on when I was a boy in an upper class at school and afterwards when I was an undergraduate at Cambridge, I belonged to that section of people who were all out for sympathy with Germany; we felt terribly sorry for them. They had been abominably treated, they had been let down by their army, we thought, and the French anyhow were not our friends. Any sympathy with Germany became extremely popular.

The Germans are very clever. Young men and young women went to Germany and found them friendly and charming. They walked among the cornfields and they climbed the mountains and struggled after the blue cornflowers and sang songs in beer parlours. Everywhere around them was the atmosphere of Gemuetlichkeit, friendship, charm; and we thought, "These people can't be so bad as all that." That is what you are intended to think after seeing the film, "The Seventh Cross"—"These are nice people. We mustn't really complain about them." The Germans, remember, escaped the horrors of the war, and therefore when we could go to Germany and look at the glorious cathedrals, and castles along the Rhine, and see the standing corn and hear the happy laughter of the children, we forgot the ruins of Louvain and Arras and Ypres. We forgot all about the scorched earth of Northern France and the destruction of Verdun and places like that.

The Germans escaped. Thank God their sons are not going to get off so easily this time. But they would if they could. Carl Rosemeier, a German who understood the Germans, said some time ago, "They will cheat you yet, these Junkers. Having won one-half the world by bloody murder, they'll win the other half with tears in their eyes whining for mercy." And I notice that Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, the High Commissioner here, quoted the other day the words of a captured German staff officer who said with the cynical insolence in which they excel, "It's true," said he, flicking the ash off his cigarette—a cigarette probably offered to him by some obsequious Brigadier. "It is true," said he, "that Germany may have to fight and lose two wars in order to win the third."

The Weimar Republic, which was set up to make peace between the Allies and Germany in 1918, was very soon destroyed. Within the first year of the Weimar Republic there were more political murders in Germany than there were in the first four years of the Nazi regime. The resistance to the Weimar Republic was strong. German people do not like Democracy, they don't understand it, they don't even begin to understand what it means. Some of us are not quite sure, but the German's don't even try.

When Hitler came into power in 1933 he had a walkover. It is idle for people to suggest, as Miss Dorothy

Thompson persists in doing, that Hitler was resented and resisted by any large section of the German people. He was *not*. He gave them exactly what they wanted, uniforms, brass bands, the opportunity to go parading about, doing the goose step, polishing their spades so they could wave them in the air and shout, "Heil Hitler"—and the German maidens, even they had uniforms, uniforms for women. It was exactly what they wanted. When Hitler came into power he said to himself, "I have found my most fanatical supporters among women." The German mothers for centuries and certainly the last fifty years have been trained to raise their sons to fight—and when you're trained to fight, you've got to fight against somebody.

For another thing, only Germans in my opinion can be Nazis. What other people but the Germans could tolerate the kind of people they have to rule over them? Sometimes those of us who suffer from strong political convictions wonder how on earth we can elect people like "Old Joe" or "Tom Somebody" and sometimes it is difficult to understand. But can you imagine any other people on the face of the globe who could tolerate, as their leaders, men not only of twisted and repulsive minds but twisted and repulsive bodies as well? Horrible people! You can look at their pictures and they are quite open and frank about it; they have no publicity agents to touch up their photographs. Julius Streicher does not mind his beastly, sadistic face being photographed—not a bit of it. Nor does Goebbels mind his peculiarly repulsive appearance being reproduced.

It is dangerous to make a clear distinction between Nazis and Germans. Let us not forget that you must be a German before you can be a Nazi. The whole of the Nazi regime was founded upon lying of such a colossal order that it has achieved its object. Hitler said in "Mein Kampf"; "If you want to be believed you must tell big lies and tell them often; and if you tell them often enough people will begin to believe them." The Germans were ready—we were not ready. But a lot of people were not averse from giving colour to German lies especially when we were told: "Look at what this new regime does. The streets are clean, the trains run on time, the hotels are clean, there are no Communists. It's getting almost as nice as in Italy and Portugal and Poland, all of them dictatorial, totalitarian countries." And that just suited the British tourists.

To help him in his lying, he had the modern Beelzebub, Goebbels. If ever there was a successful man, it is indeed Goebbels, because his lying was so thorough that he has succeeded in corrupting a whole people and destroying in a great many of them—in fact in the majority of them—the inherent love of religion which made Germany the stronghold of the Catholic church and the spearhead of the Protestant church. The Germans were a religious people, a people who devoted in the past a good deal of their time, a good deal of their music to the beauty of worship, and now think what they do. I will tell you the kind of thing they sing. The German Youth League and the German League of Women sing a hymn which translated goes something like this:

"We have given up the Christian line,
For Christ was just a Jewish swine,
And as for his Mother,
What a shame,
Cohen was the lady's real name."

Children sing that kind of thing. Children report their parents for talking against the Government, and a race of thugs and savages has been developed who, as men who are fighting against them now report, are worse than devils. And during all the time while the Germans were talking of peace, the preparations for war went on and behind the scenes there was the very refinement of German persecution.

I was in Germany in 1938 and visited a school; again I ask you to note the frank and open way in which it was done. We were invited to go and look at the way in which German education was prospering; and we went to a little town of Rothenburg, one of the most beautiful towns I have ever seen, a town which looks like an illustration out of a child's fairy tale book, something out of Hans Andersen, with curly red roofs over-hanging narrow cobbled streets, a tall spire with little onion dome, with a church and perhaps occasionally you would pass someone who would give you the German greeting of "Gruss Gott". It was all very charming, and in the school there were cheerful looking children, but it was a school from which they had not yet expelled all the children of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish parents.

All the pure Jews, of course, had long been turned out but, in this particular class where we were, there were still some children who had one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent. None of them was over seven. It was the custom of the Government in the morning to give them hot milk, for which the children were required to bring their own cups. Now, these little children of mixed parentage were not allowed to *not* bring their cups, were not allowed to fall out of line when it was formed up; they were obliged every morning of their lives to go in the queue so that when they came to the teacher with a ladle, they had to say: "I'm sorry I'm a Jew." Whereupon the teacher would say: "We don't want any Jews here." And the child would answer: "I'm sorry."

Afterwards I said to the school mistress, a woman very much the same as my own sister, who is a very ordinary middle-class English woman teaching school: "This seems to me to be one of the most cruel and horrible things I've ever seen." "Cruel?" she said, "Not to the vast majority of German children; after all they *must* realize how much better they are than the Jews." That is an example of the success of Goebbels prolonged campaign of lies.

Well, then came the war and the Germans very soon showed they had not changed except in one respect. That was the campaign of lies with which they flooded the air, ingenious, disturbing lies which caused a good deal of trouble and a great deal of concern. And I don't think we were very good at answering them back. We are good at a great many things, but I don't think we are so good as all that at lying—I sometimes wish we were a bit better. The Germans soon showed they hadn't changed and the record of atrocities grew, making the atrocities of the last war seem pale in comparison. In the last war—all war is brutal, and the Germans are more brutal than most people —they were still just Germans; this time they had the vileness of Nazism deep in their veins as well, so the world was dismayed and is still shocked and stunned at the record of atrocities which mount day by day by day.

Remember that these young men, who are now 19 or 20, have been subject to it since 1933, and therefore a boy of 17 has been subject to it since he was 7 and so on. Therefore they are capable of deeds of cruelty and beastliness so vile that they themselves get tired of them and think of new ways to kill and torture. I hope we are not going to forget them. And now they are fighting to the finish—to the bitter end, let there be no mistake about that. I think it is most michievous and dangerous that we should be told the war is going to be over very soon. If it is going to be over soon, then it will be at the cost of enormous sacrifice again of blood and young life.

What are we going to do after the war, when that time comes? Let us now do something constructive and make some suggestions. As we know the Germans now, and as we *have* known them and *should* have known them for 25 years, it is impossible to make a peace with them until they have learned to be good Europeans. There must be an Armistice and let the Armistice be a *long* Armistice. Let it last five, or six, or even 10 years. Let the state of war continue.

Let them not send their black-coated, furtive, well-trained, slimy liars to the peace conference, carefully briefed by the militarists and the industrialists, whom they will leave behind them in what, I am glad to say, will not be an unspoiled Berlin. Let them remain a defeated and conquered nation for a period long enough for them to be converted. Let them be turned around and let them see what they have done and let them understand that we will see to it that they will never do it again.

Think of one more thing. After the last war, when the Germans were perhaps suffering from malnutrition, the people of Norway invited them to send their children from the poorer districts to Norway where they grew up in the happy Norwegian country. They had plenty of milk and cheese and came back strong and new children; their lives were saved. It was those children who formed part of the force which went to Norway in 1940 because they spoke Norwegian and they understood Norway. That was the way in which Germans repaid Norwegian generosity. You cannot do anything with people like that except change them.

Let us put to them three questions in one way or another. "Are you beaten? Are you sure? And by whom?" Then there can be no misunderstanding as there was after the last war. Let us pray that we shall find men of the Great Powers who will make the peace, who will agree together, because unless we agree among ourselves the Germans will profit by our disunity. Let us remember the words of Wordsworth who wrote in 1801: "We should exult if they who rule the land were men who count their many blessings dear, and not a servile band, who are to judge of danger which they fear, and honour which they cannot understand."

Let us pray that our leaders will be men who will *realize* that it is their most imperative duty to agree to deal with Germany so fairly and so decisively that these Canadian boys who take such a pessimistic view of the future may be proved to be wrong. And let us not, on the other hand, give way and behave like the Roman mob and clamour for punishment unrestricted and uncontrolled. There must be punishment; but let us remember what the objects of punishment are: protection of society and the reform of the criminal. In some cases, I hope, the punishment of Germans will fit the crime and they will be made to rebuild. And, of course, I hope, in fact I take it for granted, that we shall destroy the evil leaders of the Gestapo and the people who are convicted of crime. That hardly needs saying.

Are Germans worse than other people? Well, of course they are not, essentially they are not. But they are dangerously infected. If your little girl or boy gets scarlet fever or eczema or some horrid disease, he doesn't become any worse than his brother or sister, but he has to be isolated hasn't he? He's got to get better: and so let us not be led too easily into this business of thinking that the Germans are "all right". We are too prone to do that sort of thing. The British soldier always talks about "Old Jerry" and "Fritz" and when the Germans were shot down from bombing aircraft in England, people were too ready to run and make them cups of tea and cocoa and give them cigarettes.

I heard somebody in Canada say the other day: "After all, Rommel was a gentleman—a clean fighter." How does he know? And even if he was a clean fighter, the facts of the matter is that he was a Nazi, that is to say, he was a well-known and deliberate member of the party of his choice. A gentleman—the word has ceased to have any meaning. It is nothing to laugh about, although people will persist in laughing it off. It's the British soldier, I think, who is incapable of this burning hatred with which the Germans seem to be so easily infected. Noel Coward has an amusing story of when he went to the Near East. He met a soldier who had been wounded in the fighting in Italy. He said, "What's it like?" The soldier said, "Well, the Eye-ties are alright, and the Jerries are alright, but the mosquitoes are bloody awful."

And then, the film, "The Seventh Cross"! If there ever was a piece of shameless propaganda, that's it. It is a pro-German film. But I don't suggest for a moment that the people in Hollywood who made it are pro-German. Nor do I suggest for a moment that the people taking part in it are German agents. That would be absurd. But it is a dangerous film. In it we are shown this charming young German middle class worker, who doesn't *know* how beastly the Nazis are. How can he possibly *not* know? How can he have failed to see Jews struck in the face and kicked in the streets? Doesn't he know? Of course he knows. And we are expected to believe that by most Germans the Nazis are hated and feared. They are not. In Germany I can assure you they were applauded, they were welcomed with a frenzy and enthusiasm to which even I myself was once in danger of becoming susceptible.

Are there nice Germans? Well most of us have friends whom we remember—but there again let us not stretch tolerance too far. A taxi driver who drove me in Toronto the other day asked me if I came from England. He thought I had a queer accent. And he said that he had known some nice Englishmen in his time.

Germany is a criminal nation, a criminal nation convicted before the jury of mankind and she must be treated as such. Let us not be infected with an unreasonable prejudice. We must not add another to the racial and religious prejudices of which there are already far too many. There are enough people whose minds are poisoned by a horror of this race or that race or that people already. Let us remember that they *are* human beings who can be reformed. But, in the meantime, let there be no half measures.

Germany must be de-militarized for ever. For ever. If we see that our Governments, either by acquiescence or apathy are allowing the Germans to have an army, a navy or air force—however small—let's call for a general election and throw them out. Let there be no uniforms in Germany except those worn by postmen, policemen, and railway men. *They must not have an army any more.* Let us control their youth. Remember that two generations are lost, irretrievably lost. Let us look at the ones that are coming. Let us supervise their sports gatherings to see that they do not degenerate into drill as they did after the last war. And watch their war industries, or potential war industries—heavy industries. Don't let them start building tanks on the sly and making poison gas. Let us keep our inspectors in German war industries, if you like, forever—but certainly, if only for selfish reasons, during your lifetime and mine.

Then there must be re-education. Who is going to do it, I don't know, but there must be re-education. The lessons of the last war were not learned. Already there are several thinking men who have suggested solutions. Mr. Morgenthau of the United States suggests that Germany should be reduced from an industrial to an agricultural nation. There are objections to that at once, of course, from industries in England represented by a paper in England called "The Economist", which attacks Mr. Morgenthau as a fanatic. So does Miss Dorothy Thompson attack him and so on. But it is a step in the right direction. There are people in high places of authority who are thinking about it; Lord Vansittart, who is accused quite unjustly of suggesting that all Germans should be killed, which is nonsense. That is pro-German propaganda. It is pro-German propaganda to misrepresent Vansittart. It is pro-German propaganda to deny that "The Seventh Cross" is in fact pro-German propaganda. We must get our ideas straight on this subject. Vansittart suggests that the Germans shall be left with whole larders but empty arsenals. Surely that is not too much to ask? Perhaps the German state may be broken up. That is a dangerous thing.

At any rate, in conclusion, let us insist that the men whom we elect by the exercise of our free vote which the Germans, had they had their way, would have taken from us, shall be men charged with our mandate to see that the peace of the world shall be secured by the stern treatment of Germany. After the war we shall start building memorials to the dead. I hope—and I speak here for England—that we will not disfigure our countryside again with expensive stone memorials. Let us build schools and hospitals, clinics and universities. And let us devote the money which we want to give to remember the dead to somthing that will help the living. But it is no use building those things if we are going to have a war again in another 25 years as these Canadian boys fear we are going to; because they will all be destroyed again and we shall have to start all over again.

To sum up then, let us be aware of the past. Let us be watchful in the present and vigilant in the future, and if we are able to secure the construction of a *new* Germany, then we shall be safe. If we fail again, then the pessimism of these Canadian boys will be borne out by fact. It is a task which we must all face up to—to secure a just peace and a severe peace with Germany—the only way in which to make sure that there will be no more war. Only then shall we come to the time when we shall not be afraid of the terror by night, or for the arrow that flieth by day, or for the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, and the destruction that wasteth in the noon day.

"THE SIMPLE LAWS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. A. C. WICKMAN

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, October 26, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: The men and women of Great Britain have earned the admiration of the entire Allied world for the magnificent fortitude and high courage which they have displayed throughout the years of this war. There were many battles to be won, battles on land, on the sea, and in the air. There were battles in the far-flung places of the earth. Battles against the enemy at home as well as abroad and, so often, the outcome of these battles depended upon the battle of production in the British Isles. Through long and weary hours, their workers toiled and wrought to equip and supply the battle forces, not only with enough material, but with material of high quality and efficient design.

We are honored to-day to have as our guest speaker a prominent British manufacturer and industrialist, a manufacturer of machine tools, which are the tools required to manufacture the tools of war.

Mr. A. C. Wickman is founder and chairman of the board of A. C. Wickman Limited, of Coventry, England, of A. C. Wickman (Canada) Limited and The Wickman Corporation of Detroit. He is a director of several other companies. He has business connections around the world.

While I present him as a British manufacturer, we also welcome him as a Canadian manufacturer. Gentlemen: I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. A. C. Wickman, of Coventry, England, who will speak to us on "The Simple Laws of International Trade".

Mr. A. C. Wickman: Gentlemen: In speaking to you I am deeply conscious of the great compliment you have paid me in asking me to address you, and fully aware how delicate a subject finance is, whether of personal or international magnitude; also how easily misunderstandings arise about it.

Financial questions always touch our pocket books and I know no place where human nature is more sensitive. Financial misunderstandings remind me of the story of Ikey and Moses who were shipwrecked. Ikey could swim and Moses could not. After paddling about in the water for some hours supporting Moses, Ikey felt he needed a rest and said: "Moses, can you float alone?" Moses replied: "Ikey, for the love of Heaven, what a time to talk business!" I hope you won't think the same about this talk.

I want to discuss in as simple language as possible the fundamental economic laws which govern the exchange of goods between one country and another. There is no doubt that one of the chief problems after this war will be to assure the international economic health of the various countries comprising this world. There are certain very simple but fundamental laws which govern international trade. They are so simple as to be almost self-evident truths, but they seem not so much misunderstood as to be totally unrecognized by the bulk of both business men and politicians.

Trade Origins

Let us take a quick review of trading since its inception. The first trading was obviously between individuals and was entirely in the form of barter, no money or token of exchange being then used. To obtain the goods he wanted this individual had either to make them himself, to make other aticles that he could exchange for them, or he had to hire out his services in exchange for such goods. This individual found himself controlled by the first simple economic law. He could never obtain more goods or services from the community he dealt with than the goods and services he could supply them with. This, gentlemen, I want you to bear in mind. In this form of transaction we have the simplest type of goods exchange imaginable. Now, let us examine a step which was revolutionary in character. A body of individuals formed themselves into a community and, to facilitate trading amongst themselves, decided to use a standard of exchange. What that standard was does not concern us. This revolutionary change meant, however, that the value of every article dealt with had to be related to the standard used; in other words, we had prices on commodities for the first time. Other communities were formed, each of which had its own standard and the prices of its own commodities were fixed to that standard. The individuals of these communities traded amongst themselves in a much freer and easier way, credit became established, but again each individual in the long run could not obtain more goods and services from the community than he was prepared to give in return.

Certain individuals in these communities, by virtue of being better tradesmen and better craftsmen, were able to obtain more goods and services than they needed for their own livelihood and that of their family, and so began to amass wealth. With this wealth in the form of surplus goods and medium of exchange, they employed others and built up the type of social community which was the forerunner of what we have today. These individuals still had to provide the community with the same value of goods they obtained from it, the only difference being that what they could now provide was greatly in excess of their living needs and they could therefore accumulate wealth. These communities then wished to trade with each other, and of course found that there was no relation between the standard of exchange of one community with that of another, and further that the standard of one community was completely valueless in another community. This meant that business between any two communities was still limited to barter in the same form as it had been limited to individuals originally. A few of the more advanced communities had taken the precious metals, gold and silver, for their standards and had even minted coins in them. Gold gradually assumed precedence as a community exchange standard.

Gold as Exchange

Now, the communities that I am talking about were not necessarily nations. Some of them were powerful trading guilds and corporations, but later on the trading communities merged commercially into nations and we had a picture of nations doing business with each other based on an international standard of gold. In the early days of such trading credit was necessarily very curtailed, distances in the world from a travel point of view were enormous and information travelled very slowly, so that it was quite common to transfer physically the gold necessary to pay for a transaction from one community to another. The older banking houses had regular agents who travelled with coffers of gold and watched over them fully armed. In later years with the speed of the telegraph and telephone, and the immense shrinking of globular space through fast travel, credit was increased enormously. (I don't mean that that was the only reason, but obviously an intimate knowledge of the affairs of your debtor through fast communications helped to give a much better picture of his financial character and so made credit a much more acceptable proposition, so that later it was only occasionally necessary to ship gold from one country to another when the credit or debit balances became in need of physical adjustment.)

Having gold as an international standard, it was possible to evaluate each country's currency to a fine ounce of gold and therefore by direct comparison to determine the value of any one currency in relation to any other. A buying nation, instead of having to obtain the currency of a nation it wished to buy from, could pay such a nation in gold. The selling nation credited the gold to its reserve and credited the selling firm with the equivalent value in its own domestic currency. The actual purchaser in the buying nation only wrote out a cheque for that purchase to his bank, who debited his account with that amount and issued from its gold reserve the necessary gold credit to the selling nation's bank as before mentioned. The various national banks of the countries concerned, such as for example, the Bank of England, the Bank of Canada, the Federal Reserve Bank, etc., cleared these debits and credits, which were mere paper transactions, so that the unbalanced portion of them, either plus or minus, could be determined. It was these balances which sometimes caused, among other things, the actual physical transfer of gold from one country to another.

International Trade

Now we have advanced greatly in our history of trading since our original individual transaction that we spoke of first. But, in spite of its increased complexity, you will notice that we have had to fulfil the same conditions as our original individual had to when he was bartering. You will remember he amassed wealth when the goods he could produce and exchange were in excess of those needed for his livelihood, and he was poor when his needs of livelihood could not be balanced by the goods he produced for exchange.

So it is with a nation today. It amasses international wealth all the time that it supplies more goods or services to the community of nations than it needs from them and it loses international wealth as long as it needs more goods and services from other nations than it can supply them with. Here, gentlemen, you will see our old fundamental laws were not so much misunderstood as not recognized.

The merchants and manufacturers, however, of countries that had been weak or had become weak in international credit soon learned a good deal about the mechanism of international financial procedure—not so much from choice as from dire necessity. The buyer of goods from abroad in such a country found he could no longer just write out a cheque to purchase such articles.

He was informed by the exchange control section of his national bank that such a purchase was not allowed as the gold credit for its payment could not be spared, and similarly the manufacturer who wished to sell abroad was often told that he would have to scale down the price of his goods abroad to meet foreign competition, irrespective of what his domestic price was, so that he could obtain orders and foreign exchange could flow into that nation's coffers, the difference being made up to him by a national subsidy.

Little wonder then that we find that the business men of poor creditor nations are well informed as to the mechanics and machinery of international trade, and that the least recognition of these laws or principles lies within those countries whose international credit has been so high that their respective members have never been bothered with such things as exchange restrictions.

Two important changes have taken place in international trading due to our scientific and engineering developments. As I have said before, *no nation can continue to buy more goods abroad than the value of the services it sells abroad.* Now the services a nation can sell abroad are easily divided into three classes:

1. Sell any minerals which it has in the ground, including gold.
2. Sell partly or completely manufactured goods; this even includes dairy products, farm products, as well as machine products, etc.
3. It can sell its services by providing to other nations shipping, insurance, capital, etc.

Now, whatever the medium of international exchange happens to be, no nation in the world can obtain any of that medium except by completing with some other nation a transaction which falls within one of the three categories just mentioned.

PROFIT ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Just as an individual transaction within the borders of a nation has a profit attached to it which goes to the seller, so every international transaction has a national profit also, but it is an entirely different profit based on an entirely different set of conditions. The commercial profit of an individual transaction within the borders of a nation is the difference between the total cost of the article and its sales price. The national profit of an international transaction is the difference between what has had to be spent abroad to make the article compared to the currency it brings in when sold abroad.

I shall call this national profit or currency gain simply "the gain", to distinguish it from the profit of an individual transaction executed within the country itself. Now, let us take a few examples to make our argument clear.

If the services sold consist of minerals dug or pumped from the ground, it is obvious that these can be obtained by the country which has them without that country spending anything abroad to get them. Hence the gain is 100 per cent.

When we come to partially or completely manufactured goods, quite a difference begins to show. Here the gain depends entirely on whether the raw materials from which the goods are manufactured exist in the country or have to be purchased abroad. If they exist in the country then the gain is also 100 per cent; if they do not, then the cost of that proportion of them which has to be bought abroad must be subtracted from the currency brought in to establish the gain. If all the raw material has to be purchased abroad, then the gain will be limited to the value of the labour expended in producing the goods plus the manufacturing and sales profit.

In the third category, the gain varies according to the services rendered. If they are supplying capital, then the gain is the interest or dividend on that capital; if shipping, the gain might be 100 per cent; if insurance, the gain would be the profit of the whole undertaking abroad.

You will see, therefore, that this figure of gain or the surplus currency obtained in any international transaction is a very different thing from what we in commerce know as profit. It will be obvious to you that a commercially profitable transaction might have very little gain to it, and a commercially unprofitable one might have a 100 per cent gain.

This gain can only come about by the sale of services abroad. Every domestic transaction which involves the sale domestically of any service whatsoever, be it raw material, partly or completely manufactured goods, or capital services, etc., involves the nation in a currency loss equivalent to the amount spent abroad or sent abroad to make up that service. It is obvious that for international solvency these losses must never aggregate more than the gains, otherwise we have a currency deficiency instead of a currency credit. Here we have, as mentioned before, the individual or nation needing more goods from the community or nations that it can supply them with.

Effect of Modern Development

The new ideas and discoveries of the engineer and chemist, while increasing our world standard of living, extended the number of types of raw materials required to manufacture modern goods. An abundance of coal and iron, which was the original foundation of our world's industrial development, is now by itself insufficient to carry modern industry. Oil, bauxite, rubber, chromium, molybdenum, nickel, cobalt, vanadium, and a host of others are required today to carry out a complete manufacturing programme.

Now the advent of these numerous new raw materials in making goods has had the effect of considerably curtailing the gain of nations that do not possess them, and considerably increasing the gain of those that do have them. Further, with the advent of mass production another serious change set in. In the early days of the industrial revolution, goods were made largely by hand or with very simple machinery. It was quite common for the cost of an article to be 20 per cent material and 80 per cent labour and profit. With modern methods of production, some of the mass produced articles have a cost of about 80 per cent material and only 20 per cent labour and profit.

Let us suppose that in both these cases 50 per cent of the material had to be imported by the manufacturer. In the first case, where the material was 20 per cent of the total, the gain on selling such an article abroad was 90 per cent since only 10 per cent of the total value had to be imported. In the second case, where the material was 80 per cent of the total, 40 per cent of the total value would have to be imported, the gain therefrom dropping to 60 per cent. But you know as well as I do that to maintain a standard of living in a country, it is necessary to sell the same articles at home as those you wish to export; that not only is there no gain obtained by any of these domestic sales, but as mentioned before, there will be an actual currency loss.

In the first case, with a 90 per cent gain the country could afford to absorb ninety articles at home for every ten exported to break even. In other words, the gain on the ten made up for the loss on the ninety. In the second case, however, forty articles would have to be sold abroad for every sixty at home since it needs now the gain on forty to balance the loss on sixty. A colossal difference, and one that is almost impossible to maintain.

Further, due to the extension of the number of raw materials in the industrial field, it is reasonable to suppose that a non self-sufficient country, that is a country short of raw materials, might now have to buy 80 per cent of its raw materials abroad instead of 50 per cent, making the amount of raw materials purchased abroad 64 per cent of the total value of the article instead of 40 per cent. This, therefore, reduces the gain from 60 per cent to 36 per cent. Here, sixty-four articles would have to be sold abroad to balance the raw materials required for 36 articles sold domestically, an almost impossible condition.

You will see, therefore, that modern scientific development, with its expansion of raw materials, and modern manufacturing with its cheapening of production, while making the articles more desirable to purchasers, has greatly depleted the gain for countries which are not self-supporting in these raw materials.

Under the conditions just enumerated a nation that is blessed with a self-sufficiency of raw materials just cannot help amassing international wealth. Every transaction made with another nation brings in a currency gain; in fact currency flows in her direction like water downhill, even her domestic needs do not require an appreciable amount of spending abroad. The nation, however, without these necessary raw materials just cannot help losing its currency, as almost every domestic requirement forces her to spend some of her credit abroad, and the very exports, on which she should make the necessary gain to balance her domestic requirements, themselves require a large amount of foreign purchases, so that she is always losing currency just as the other country is always gaining it. There is no truer example than this of the old biblical adage that to those who have shall be given and from those who have not shall be taken away even that which they have.

These changes which I have outlined to you, having been themselves gradual in their own growth, worked unseen and unheard to accomplish the tremendous financial revolution which has overtaken the world.

As I explained to you previously, those nations, which are poor internationally and therefore cannot help, understand the problem and those, which are ultra-rich and therefore could help, do not. It is well known that the millionaire and the pauper do not speak the same language, that similar events affect them quite differently, since they judge them from different premises, and that neither understands the viewpoint of the other.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES

Now, what can be done to combat such a state of affairs? Firstly, the setting up of an international bank with an international standard, be it gold or bankor or unitas, is necessary. The currencies of the various nations must be so related to that standard that their respective values when compared to that standard can be either raised or depressed, according to the credit or debit currency balance which any particular nation has at that bank. This would have the effect of making the goods of a nation, low in currency, cheap compared to the goods of a nation with a large credit balance in currency. These cheaper goods would therefore be more attractive to other nations to buy and the gain in these transactions would tend to restore the adverse balance of such a nation.

Equally, the nation with a large credit balance would have its sales of goods restricted due to price until it had used up its credit balance in purchasing services from other nations. This arrangement is quite workable for such nations as stand near the borderline of self-sufficiency. I cannot see, however, that it can cater for two such opposite economic one-way streets as Great Britain and the United States of America, the one needing to buy a good deal more than it can ever export—as I explained to you, due to the tremendous shrinkage of gain—and the other being able and wishing to export without having to buy. I see no immediate answer to this problem.

Secondly, non self-sufficient nations, in order to bring themselves on a more even currency balance, will have to foster those industries for which they have the raw materials. They must also, as much as possible, develop the synthetic production of such raw materials as they lack and adapt those to their industrial needs. Even if the synthetic price is many times that of the natural product, it still will be preferable from a national gain point of view.

Thirdly, those nations almost self-sufficient should try and buy everything they can abroad so that they do not become choked with excess gold or currency credits. This is almost as bad as being bankrupt of them.

Lastly, I feel that the simple principles of economics which I have propounded to you today should be taught in every school so that the man in the street has a knowledge of the fundamentals of such things. He is not interested in the complicated curriculum of economics as a whole, nor is it necessary that he should know it. But just as a normal human being should have a knowledge of arithmetic to serve his normal daily course of life without having to delve into the higher planes of mathematics, so should the man in the street be taught the pure arithmetic of international economics. He would then be able to obtain a mental picture of what is necessary for any country to remain in business and to maintain within it a proper standard of living. And that, if we are to have international understanding, is vital.

To give you an example of the misunderstanding that exists through lack of knowledge of these fundamental principles, I am often told, particularly by members of the more wealthy nations, that we in Great Britain have nothing to complain of. We have the whole of the British Empire from which to draw our raw materials. It has never occurred to these people that since you and the other Dominions have complete political and economic freedom—and by the way, the one is not possible without the other—you have with that your own internal revenues, your own treasuries, and therefore your own national banks. London not being the final clearing house of your domestic debits and credits, the transactions between Great Britain and, for example, Canada are transactions just as between one sovereign state and another and are not paper transactions.

It has never occurred to these people that, for example, the buying of any commodity by Great Britain from Canada involves exactly the same kind of international exchange procedure as if it were purchased from, say, the United States of America.

An understanding of these economic principles will also explain to the man in the street that large international payments cannot be made in gold but only in goods and services, which is, unfortunately, usually the one way the creditor nation does not want to be paid. It will also show him that the only discrimination in the availability of raw materials in the past has been the same discrimination that a store shows to its customers: Those that have the money get the goods, and those that do not have the money don't get the goods.

CANADA'S PROSPECTS

You here with your unlimited and in many cases undeveloped sources of raw materials, both old and modern, are one of the millionaires of the new era. We in Britain, who were the pioneers of industrial development, are now one of the new poor.

I do not know anything which throws a heavier burden on a nation's economic resources than a war, and the magnitude of its war effort directly influences the weight of that burden. You have produced in this country a war effort second to none in the whole allied nations, yet in spite of this you have not had to have lend-lease. If anything, your currency position has grown stronger with your war effort. You have presented us in Great Britain with outright gifts of a magnitude that for the size of your population are almost unbelievable, and for which we are—and always will be—eternally grateful. There can be no better example of the economic strength given by the possession of raw materials.

In conclusion may I say that you are further ideally situated in having a benevolent and similarly wealthy neighbor.

Under these conditions, there must be a brilliant future for your country in the years to come. That you will have difficulties and set-backs there is no doubt, but anyone who lives long enough to see the trend of the curve, and who is not restricted to viewing the peaks and valleys in it, will be amazed at the progress that you will make in the future.

Further, throughout the world there will have to be a migration of population from areas of poor raw material facilities to areas of good raw material facilities. This is difficult and no doubt unpleasant, but must eventually happen if we are to live in peace on this earth. You, being one of the outstanding countries whose population is away below the capacity of its mineral resources to supply, will automatically obtain population by migration. We in Britain, whose population is far above the ability of our domestic raw material sources to supply, should shed our population to countries like yours. This will have to be done gradually, and industries transplanted as well, so as to be able to absorb such population.

I can assure you that no act of legislation can change the march of progress. It can only accelerate or retard it, and I suggest to you that, instead of having the increase of population you need come to you haphazardly, you look ahead and choose the origin from which it shall spring. I say this because population is the last link required in your economy. You have the raw materials, you have shown that you have the necessary production skill by your amazing war effort, the only remaining link in this economic chain is population.

I would like to tell you a story about an Englishman whose wife went to Canada after the last war. They had the old impression that your country was lacking in any kind of household comforts and was mostly populated by Indians. This man's wife had occasion to travel to the West Coast and arrangements had been made for her to stop on her way out in a certain hotel. Her husband had warned her that there would be no conveniences of any kind in the hotel, and that under no circumstances should she venture out in the dark. Days after her departure from London, he was astounded to get a cable from Toronto, reading , "Have arrived safely—I have "Running water" in my bedroom". He immediately replied, "Get that Indian out of there."

"EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION VISIT TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. J. GORDON ROSS, M.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, November 2, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: In many communities on this continent, special emphasis during the next week will be placed on Education. Pupils and parents will be asked to consider the purpose, the procedure, and the progress of education. Education has been described as the first essential of a sound democracy and it is also true that sound information is one of the fundamentals of education.

The Empire Parliamentary Association is an organization for the promotion of information and goodwill among the members of the various legislative bodies of the Empire.

Our guest speaker to-day was Chairman of the Canadian Parliamentary Committee of the Empire Association that recently visited Australia and New Zealand.

Mr. J. Gordon Ross, M.P., of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, is serving his fourth term in Ottawa as representative of that constituency. He is a farmer and a Liberal. Although he hails from the West, he attended St. Andrew's College in Toronto, and MacDonald Agricultural College at St. Anne's, Quebec.

We welcome Mr. Ross to The Empire Club to speak to us on "Empire Parliamentary Association Visit to Australia and New Zealand".

MR. J. GORDON ROSS, M.P.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The British Empire Parliamentary Association is an organization of Members of all the Parliaments within the British Empire. Each year a delegation made up of Members selected by the Association from each of the Empire Parliaments pays a visit to one of the Empire countries as guests of that country with the purpose of meeting the parliamentarians and people of that country, studying their mode of life, travelling through the country, finding out what the problems of that country are in order that all the Parliaments within the Empire may co-operate and assist one another, exchanging ideas, and observing how legislation, if any, of an advanced nature is working out in practice.

This year the trip was to Australia and New Zealand. The delegation was made up of nine members of the British House of Commons, one member of the House of Lords, and four members of the House of Commons of Canada—Mr. Joseph H. Harris of Danforth-Toronto, a Progressive-Conservative, Mr. Angus McGinnis of Vancouver-South, a C.C.F., Dr. Donnelly of Wood Mountain, and myself of Moose Jaw, both Liberals, from Saskatchewan. All political parties were represented in a non-partizan trip.

We met our English colleagues in the early part of May in New York and found them to be good representatives of the great people to whom they belong, and we can now say that they were excellent travelling companions. We left New York on a fast freighter which had cabin accommodation for fourteen, but for this wartime trip crowded in some twenty-two, and literally we got very close together. The ship was well armed with one 6-inch gun, six 4-inch and some smaller guns, and had a crew of fourteen naval gunners aboard. On the way to the Panama we zig-zagged continually without convoy. The entire crew was very alert as we were carrying some 10,000 tons of explosives. With a blackout each night, which meant port holes and windows closed and battened, it was, to say the least, warm. We arrived in the Canal Zone in seven days, proceeded through the Canal and were on our way across the Pacific.

Twenty-one days later we saw the first city of our visit, Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, a very beautiful city with one of the most picturesque harbours in the world and a population of 1,300,000 people. Although it was the middle of winter the flowers, flowering trees and shrubs were all out in bloom. Here we met the Government of New South Wales and were royally welcomed by them.

In each of the capital cities of Australia interesting discussions with members of the Empire Parliamentary Assocaition were held in the Legislatures and in each part of Australia it was our pleasure to be able to study carefully that part of the war effort which was being carried on in that particular district.

In Sydney we inspected the naval yards, saw the building of corvettes and light cruisers, the construction of torpedoes and torpedo tubes, visited the great Cockatoo Dock Yards, where repairs were being made to ships damaged in action with the Japs. We inspected the large new graving dock, almost completed, which will handle the largest ships afloat. It is being constructed at Sydney in order that in the future the Empire may have a second graving dock in the Pacific, which may be more easily protected than the one at Singapore, just in case trouble should start again in Pacific waters.

Sydney is a city of many fine parks. We were shown Taronga Park and Zoo, which has within its borders practically all types of animals and birds which are native to Australia, thought to be the oldest continent in the world. We saw the little koala bear, the kangaroo, the wallaby, the platypus, who is a very peculiar little fellow with fur like a muskrat, web feet, a duck bill, and who stays either under water or on the land, the kookaburra, the lyre-bird and the emu.

From Sydney we boarded our plane for Newcastle. We had the same plane at our disposal for the entire trip in Australia, a DC-3, which would carry about twenty-five people, with a very fine Australian crew of four men who had seen a good deal of service in this war.

Newcastle, the steel city of Australia, is about 140 miles from Sydney. Here is located one of the most efficient steel plants in the British Empire. Australia has large quantities of iron ore of very high quality, about 67% iron. They have ample coal. The two are brought together at Newcastle, a seaport, and low cost iron and steel is produced in large quantities. There are many subsidiary industries connected with steel at Newcastle. They are headed by a top-ranking industrialist by the name of Essington Lewis, whose foresight had developed the industry to the point where thousands of tons of badly needed steel were available for Great Britain when the war broke in Europe.

From Newcastle we flew to Canberra, the modern capital of Australia. Some day Canberra will be a great city. It is all planned as the capital of a vast country and when its population has grown to 100,000 or 150,000 it will be well worth seeing. At the present time there are only about 10,000 people there and naturally it looks very scattered. There are great distances between the Parliament Buildings, the residential section, the business section, the Diplomatic section and the national memorials and museums. However, the streets and boulevards are well laid out and the flowering trees and shrubs are already planted.

Canberra is about one hundred miles from the coast and is the centre of a ranching country, with a rainfall of about 22 inches. Here the Canadian delegation were entertained by the Honourable T. C. Davis, High Commissioner for Canada, who seems to be very popular in Australia and who is performing a great service for us there. With Mr. Davis we visited a large cattle station a short distance from the capital and there we were shown about one hundred head of kangaroo in their wild state. Riders from the ranch drove them past the party, who were concealed in fallen timber. I might say that on this ranch of about 3,000 acres there were produced, carried and finished some 800 head of fine Hereford cattle.

After very interesting discussions with Members of the Federal Government, the House of Representatives and Senate, we again took to the air over high, snow-covered mountains, where the temperature registered as low as ten degrees below zero, back to the coast to the city of Melbourne, the capital of the State of Victoria. This is the second city in Australia, having a population of about a million people.

The war effort in this part of Australia consisted mainly of the production of aeroplanes of several different types, a very fine industry including the building of the newest type of aeroplane engine, the production of many guns, shells and munitions, and one outstanding contribution, the production of a first-grade type of glass lens which has been badly needed by all of our Allies. While at Melbourne the delegation was taken to a testing range and given a demonstration of practically all Australia's war munitions and guns in action.

We flew from Melbourne to Hobart in the Island of Tasmania, about 240 miles south of the mainland coast. The port of Hobart has an outstanding harbour; the largest ocean-going steamers are able to enter or leave it at any stage of the tide or dock in the very centre of the city. The city itself rises from the water's edge to the wooded hills and is topped by the massive slope of Mount Wellington, in all a beautiful picture.

Tasmania produces many thousands of barrels of the very finest of apples but unfortunately because of the lack of shipping there is no market for them during the war. This island has remarkable scenic beauty, fine beaches and resorts and no doubt when the war is over large numbers of Americans and Canadians will take advantage of air travel and visit this lovely spot, even for short holidays.

From Hobart we flew back to Melbourne and from there to South Australia, stopping on our way in the desert at Mildura. The Mildura district is irrigated by water from the Murray River and here are grown oranges and grapefruit and there is produced about 100,000 tons of dried fruits, raisins, sultanas and currants. The fruit is of high quality and the methods of cultivation and processing are most modern. Mildura was very kind to the Canadian delegation and very interested in showing us through their area. The statement was made that Canada was Australia's second best customer in dried fruits and that the trade agreement, by which Canada had given her a preference, saved the dried fruit industry of the country.

From here we flew on to Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. This is the center of a large agricultural country where a good deal of Australia's wheat crop is produced and a considerable number of livestock is carried without natural water supply. The Government has constructed what is called a reticulation system which carries water for domestic purposes and for livestock to the farms through pipe lines three hundred and fifty miles long. Here they have also developed grape growing and a considerable wine industry.

So far we have travelled mainly around the coastal part of Australia but now we cut across many hundreds of miles of desert to arrive at Perth in Western Australia. The rainfall around the coast of Australia is sufficient to carry on an ordinary type of agriculture for from 100 to 200 miles inland but from there to the center of the continent the rainfall drops progressively, the vegetation becomes more sparse, until practically nothing is grown in the great dead heart or center of the continent.

In Perth we were shown the handling of the great wool crop of Australia. A large number of the 130,000,000 head of sheep of Australia are in this part of the country. At Perth, and Fremantle also, we again saw ship yards with ships being refitted and repaired. At this point there is a naval base and from it starts the longest single passenger hop in the world, from Perth to Ceylon, some 3,100 miles without a stop, just over twenty-four hours' flight.

Our next stop was at Kalgoorlie. This was where gold was first discovered in Australia about ninety years ago and considerable production of it is still taking place there. It is some 300 miles from the coast and water is piped that 300 miles for the purposes of the population of Kalgoorlie and of the mines.

From here we flew to Alice Springs in the northern territory, the great outback of Australia. Here again, millions of sheep and cattle are grazed on very sparse vegetation. When the cattle are five years of age they are driven on foot to market, 1,000 miles. Each twenty miles there are deep wells at which the cattle can be watered.

From Alice Springs we flew to Townsville on the north-east coast of Australia and here the party broke up into three groups, one going to Darwin, the only point in Australia bombed by the Japs, another to the Atherton area, where many thousands of Australians and American troops were in training, and four of us left by plane for New Guinea. Australia, although 98% of British extraction, has conscription for home defence only and conscripts cannot even be forced to go to the northern tip of New Guinea.

We landed in Port Moresby and there were fitted out with Australian privates' uniforms. We travelled from Moresby over the famous Kokoda Trail across the Owen Stanley Mountains. Nowhere in this war was a tougher job given to fighting men than to the Australians in this section, consisting of high mountains covered with jungle, swamps and streams in the valleys, filled with mosquitoes, carrying malaria and dengue fever, scrub typhus, poisonous insects and snakes, terrible heat and humidity. The terrain was so bad that if a man were wounded and required treatment he was strapped to a stretcher and it took sixteen natives twelve days to transport him back to the hospital. Naturally, not many survived. Malaria took a terrible toll, as many as 100 men in a thousand going down with it in a week. However, the medical authorities have now been able to develop a medicine called Atabrin to the point that not more than three men in a thousand will take malaria, and the belief is that those three neglect to take their Atabrin.

We flew across to Buna, Sananada and Gona, and from here up along the coast past Nassau Bay and Salamaua to Lae. At Lae while visiting the hospital there I had the pleasure of meeting a young officer who had been injured and who came from my own home town. There were about ten Canadian officers attached to the Australians in New Guinea for observation.

From Lae we flew to Wau where there was situated one of the few if not the only landing strip that had existed in New Guinea prior to the war. This airport had been used by the Bulolo Gold Mining Syndicate to bring in all their machinery and supplies. The Japs, of course, were anxious to capture this strip and one of the greatest battles of New Guinea took place here. There were some 285 Australians stationed there when word came through that two columns of Japs were advancing, one of about 200 men through the jungle around the hillside and the other of 100 men coming up to break out into the valley about a mile from Wau. The Australians placed 60 men in the valley and 225 men on the hillside to meet them but when the enemy arrived they were 1,000 in the valley and 2,000 on the hillside. The 285 men faced them, held them and gradually withdrew to the airfield, fighting every minute of thirty-six hours. At this time the Australians were stretched out along the edge of the airfield, when the Sixth Air Borne Division was brought in by plane and landed on the air strip, the Japs firing on the planes as they landed and the Australians firing as they came out of the planes. The Japs were quickly driven back by these reinforcements and the strip was held. Nowhere in the world had men shown more courage, fortitude and endurance than these Australians at this point.

From here we flew back to Lae, then up to Finschhafen, Saidor and then further north to Madang. The Japs had just been driven from this point a short time before. In fact, there were still some 2,500 to 3,000 of them in the hills. They had been cut off from the coast, could not get out, could get no supplies in and were starving to death in the hills.

You no doubt have heard of Jap prisoners being taken during this war. I have been informed by the highest authorities amongst the Australians and American fighting men that no Jap has ever yet surrendered during this war. Those who have been taken prisoner are either shell-shocked or so sick or so seriously wounded that they do not know what is taking place. All other Japs die. There are at the present time some 47,000 Japs cut off and starving to death in New Guinea but none will surrender. Another 100,000, who had been by-passed in the smaller islands of the Pacific are in the same position, and since leaving New Guinea I feel satisfied there must be another 200,000 in the same predicament now that McArthur and Nimitz have advanced.

We went back to Nadzab and there for four and a half hours watched a continuous stream of planes leave the air strip, each loaded with 500-pound bombs, but we did not know yet who the bad news was for. We found the officers and men, both Australian and American, with the highest morale and determined to see the show through.

Then, in an American transport plane, we proceeded to Townsville and thence to Brisbane. We had by this time rejoined the other members of the party. At Brisbane we spent an hour and a half with General McArthur who was very kind and answered every question we asked. He impresses one as a highly intelligent man, a fine leader and one who knows the Jap well and will certainly use that knowledge to our advantage. He said then that he was shortly going back to the Philippines, and he has succeeded in arriving there in force already.

Brisbane is the center of the State of Queensland, a remarkably fine agricultural country, where they produce anything from bananas, sugar cane, pineapple and many other tropical fruits, up to all the fruits and vegetables that we know. The grass lands of this country will carry very heavy herds and flocks and the farmer gets heavy production with little expense in the way of labour.

From Queensland we flew down to Sydney, and from there took the Tasman Airways, a daily commercial service, to Auckland, New Zealand, 1275 miles away.

In New Zealand our trip was entirely by motor car. We had a convoy of five cars and a truck for our luggage. The organization of the trip was excellent. Every move was made on schedule and arrangements for the convenience of the party were well planned ahead. The roads were very good, winding through undulating country, through small farms which had been cleared from the native brush and trees.

The land between Auckland and New Plymouth, our first stop, was not originally of the best quality but you could see that instead of being depleted by cultivation it had been continuously improved by the use of good cultural methods and super-phosphate fertilizer.

One of the memorable stops on our trip was at Waitoma where we visited the famous underground caverns which had been tunnelled out of the limestone by the running and dripping of water for thousands of years. There were all forms of stalagmites and stalactites, pillars of deposited limestone from the ceiling to the floor of the caves. After passing through long underground tunnels we arrived at a small lake and boarded a boat in the darkness. A guide propelled us by hand-power, using a wire that was stretched through the caves for the purpose. Everybody was cautioned to keep absolutely quiet, which was quite an undertaking for fourteen politicians. However, we were soon rewarded by seeing one of the wonders of the world. The roofs of the caves were studded with millions of small green lights. It looked very much like the Milky Way on a clear night. These lights came from glowworms. These small insects live in the darkness, using light to attract their food, which consists of smaller gnats or mosquito-like insects that come up from the waters of the caverns below. At any unusual sound the lights go out. This is a sight which will not soon be forgotten by any of us.

From here we travelled on mostly through rolling country but in parts it flattened out into quite good-sized valleys and plains, all a remarkably fine farming country —a pastoral country where in the dead of winter the fields were as green as the finest lawns we ever see. The farms were small, with no buildings for the livestock as they were unnecessary; small, well-kept, well painted houses, fences in good repair, hedges well clipped, everything as neat as could be; good livestock, sheep, dairy cattle and beef cattle, lands that would carry from four to eight head of ewes to the acre or better than one cow in full milk the year around. Practically no crops were harvested. There were fields of mangels, turnips and kale but these were never harvested by hand. The stock were turned in to feed in the fields—certainly a very simple type of farming. There was not much cultivation but commercial fertilizer, so necessary to uphold the heavy growth of pasture, was used in considerable quantity.

We drove to Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, a city of over 200,000 with a very fine harbour. Here we met the Government, discussed matters with them, and each of us was the recipient of a very fine souvenir from the Government, blankets, made of the very finest of New Zealand wool.

New Zealand has supplied a great many men for the Overseas Forces who have done some really outstanding fighting during this war, particularly in the Mediterranean area. Outside of this, her war effort consists mainly in the production of butter, cheese and meats, which are shipped to Great Britain in refrigerator ships. Most of this produce goes out from ports like Wellington. Since the war, New Zealand has also developed quite a linen flax industry.

We travelled from Wellington to Christchurch, a very English city, and from there on down to Dunedin, which is almost entirely of Scotch extraction. Lovely Dunedin is surrounded by hills and on them there is a park belt encircling the whole city. The driveway through the park offers many fine views of the city below. I must say that people could not have been any kinder than the New Zealanders were to us in every part of their islands.

From Dunedin we went north again, past the Southern Alps and Mount Cook, which was covered with deep snow. In this part of the country the New Zealanders get their winter sports.

We arrived at Napier, which was entirely destroyed by an earthquake a few years ago, but has been rebuilt into a very modern city. From Napier we travelled north again, up through the thermal region to Rotorua, the home of most of the Maori. This territory is filled with geysers, boiling mud pots and great hot springs. The town of Rotorua is a noted tourist resort with good hotels, many swimming pools ranging anywhere from 70 to 115 degrees Fahrenheit. The Maori are a highly intelligent, brown-skinned people. They welcomed us warmly and went to great pains to show us the points of natural beauty and interest in their area. We were invited to their community hall, where addresses of welcome were tendered to us by their most outstanding citizens, many of whom had been decorated for bravery in the last war as well as in this war.

In this area much wild life abounds. Rainbow trout, for instance, which were introduced from Canada, are found in the streams and lakes in thousands and they weigh up to 25 pounds apiece. Surely this is a fisherman's paradise. Canada geese were imported and have now become a nuisance. Deer were imported from North America and today the New Zealand Government keeps a very large staff of men for the purpose of slaughtering them because of the tremendous increase in their numbers in the forests and the damage they do to vegetation all over the Islands. This increase is due to the lack of natural enemies.

After leaving Rotorua we returned to Auckland and here nine of the party boarded an American naval plane early one morning and flew to Suva in Fiji, arriving there in the late afternoon. We stayed over night and again took off in the morning, arriving at Canton Island about three o'clock in the afternoon. Here we stopped for some three hours and then flew on to Honolulu, some 1,700 miles away, arriving there early in the morning. We spent a pleasant day and a half there and then took the Clipper, leaving Honolulu at three in the afternoon and arriving in San Francisco, 2,400 miles away, at 8.30 in the morning—a very pleasant and convenient way to travel, and one that will be much used when this war is over.

One message in particular I was asked to give to the people of Canada by the people of both Australia and New Zealand. They wanted us to know that they deeply appreciated the kindness shown to the Australian and New Zealand boys who had come here to train in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme. Everywhere we went, we were continually asked to convey these thanks.

The trip was well worth while and it is a privilege to have taken it. It is a great pleasure to come to you here to tell you of it. Australia, New Zealand and Canada are all part of one Commonwealth. We are all the same people, we must know each other better; we must understand one another's problems; we must co-operate in every way to strengthen that Commonwealth. In this rapidly moving world no longer can any one country stand alone. Those of a common heritage, a common way of life, must get together, must organize themselves to defend that way of life. The British Commonwealth has saved the world again in this war. It is our job to so strengthen it that its defence of freedom and justice will ever prevail and that its counsel amongst the great nations will be heeded for the betterment of all mankind.

"SWEDEN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND WITH CANADA IN PARTICULAR"

An Address By

THE HONOURABLE PER WIJKMAN
Swedish Minister to Canada

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, November 9, 1944

Mr. C. R. Conquergood: The growing status of Canada as a self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations is noted by the increasing number of countries who are establishing here their diplomatic and commercial representatives.

We are honored to-day to have as our guest speaker, the Honourable Per Wijkman, Minister to Canada from Sweden.

Mr. Wijkman graduated in Law in 1917 from the famous University of Upsala, a short distance from Stockholm, the capital city of Sweden. A year after his graduation, he joined the Swedish Foreign Office and served in many capacities which have brought a continuous and growing recognition from his country. For instance, he attended the World Economic Conference in Geneva 1917, the Economic Committee of the League of Nations 1930-33, the Monetary and Economic Conference in London in 1933. For four years, from 1933 to 1937, he served in Washington. From 1937 to 1940, he served in Helsingfors, Finland. In 1940, he returned to his own Foreign Office, but was not to stay there long for, in 1941, he came to Montreal as Consul-General. In July of last year, he was appointed Swedish Minister to Canada, and presented his credentials to the Governor-General in Ottawa on August 4th, 1943.

His topic to-day is "Sweden's Relationship With the British Empire and With Canada in Particular". I have the honor to present the Honourable Per Wijkman.

THE HONOURABLE PER WIJKMAN: Mr. President, Members of The Empire Club of Canada: When I was honoured by the very kind invitation to speak to members of The Empire Club of Canada I was immediately very conscious of everything your name stands for. The British Empire has been a strong force for freedom for many centuries, and I know what it has meant to us in Sweden in recent years to have had the sympathy and understanding of the British peoples. Canada is the first Dominion in this Empire of free peoples, bound together by common ideals and a common outlook rather than by written words and imposed rules. Right here in Toronto you can feel the heartbeat of the Empire. The voice of Canada has added strength and new promise for the future to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Sweden has stronger ties with Great Britain than you may realize here. Our first concern is quite naturally the future of the Northern countries and we long ago withdrew from the larger field of world power interests. But many centuries of history have established in my country a way of life, of local self-government and of parliamentary institutions which are similar to those in British nations. Neither is Great Britain so very far away and the sea has always been the highway of seafaring people. A small open boat can sail from our western coast to England. By plane we are only a few hours away.

Throughout the war, Sweden has kept up air traffic with Scotland. Some of our planes were shot down, but we carried on and they brought us encouraging news. British visitors have come to Sweden during all these war years—journalists, trade union representatives, authors and churchmen. They have done a great deal to strengthen our sympathy for the British peoples. Their tact and understanding of our particular problems have convinced us that Britain is a democracy even in times of supreme national effort.

We are a very individualistic people, firmly determined to hold what we have, equally determined to accept no free gifts and ready to pay our way in every respect. We are quite satisfied with our present boundaries. But we have been prepared to fight for our way of life, if challenged, and that is why we have turned all our efforts to building up a good military defence. Out of a population of less than seven million people, we have now a well trained army of more than 600,000 men, a good navy and an air force using Swedish built planes.

We are completely united in everything that has to do with the safeguarding of our independence. Our Government has the fullest support from all of our leading parties—Liberals, Conservatives, Farmers and Labour, the last mentioned party being the largest. The only party never represented in the Swedish parliamnt is th Nazi party. They never managed to get enough votes for a single seat. The northern climate has not been very good for theories of totalitarian rule which are inconsistent with our free institutions.

Sweden is definitely a democracy. We have made our country a land of free individuals who are willing to assume the responsibility of the privileges they enjoy. Extreme elements have no appeal for us. The Communistic element is very small. The largest party, the Labour party, already has long experience of the responsibilities of Government and public affairs. We are probably known to you as a country of the middle of the road. Well, we are middle of the road. Sweden now very definitely has a modern set-up. It is an advanced democracy, but the labour class in Sweden has proved to us in this war that it is a very worthy one. They have been second to none in national unity and readiness to defend our country at any cost.

But here in Canada you should not forget that we held out for our way of life, all through the year of 1940.

That was really a test of the strength of Swedish democracy. We were surrounded by marching armies. We had to work out our own policy of resisting aggression and compulsion never found the way to our hearts.

That is why we have been ready to listen to British voices. They have been gentle words as spoken by a man who knows his own might. They have been friendly. And we said to ourselves: People who are strong enough to live and let us live, they are our kind of people. They hold similar ideas of democracy.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Sweden was an impoverished country, desperately in need of social reforms to set her house in order again. She had been engaged in a long struggle over a period of many centuries in her efforts to consolidate a Baltic Empire. Consequently, you will find that Sweden in the past had her part in power politics.

For three hundred years we fought and bled on foreign fields. If you refer to the records of any small Swedish parish of the time between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, you will find entries of Swedish soldiers who fell in battles abroad. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, France under Richelieu was an ally of Sweden and Scottish troops under Sir John Hepburn and Patrick Ruthven, the Marquess of Hamilton and Alexander Leslie fought well in the Swedish armies. The Swedish people had their full share of fighting, not only for three centuries but much longer than that.

We have now developed into a unified small country determined to live in our own way.

All through our history from the period of the Vikings we have been in close touch with the British. Since the Middle Ages the two peoples never have borne arms against each other. It might be just as well, for the sake of contemporary history, to carry you back to a very early period. It will help you to understand us better.

We happen to have a good account of conditions in Sweden in the sixth and seventh centuries from the English Beowulf poem. At that time the ruling elements in

Sweden were the Goths and the Swedish. The Goths were established in the southern part of Sweden, but they had lost much of their strength in constant emigration to foreign shores. The Swedish elements in the northern part of the country emerged victorious in the struggle for power, and the Beowulf poem has furnished us with a vivid description of those times. During the eighth century Sweden became a unified country, and the Kingdom of Sweden was established.

I am told by my wife, who has Scottish ancestors with many earlier traditions from Northern Ireland, that the Viking expeditions to England started with a visit to the Irish monastery of Lindisfarne in 793. She rather hesitated to mention what happened to the monastery but I assume that this event contributed greatly toward the efforts of the English to converting us to Christianity. At any rate, the following centuries led to a continued flow of Viking settlement in England, resulting in a strong influx of Scandinavian blood. From that time on, we have had many links of language and thought, right down through the centuries to the present day.

The Vikings also established the Duchy of Normandy in France. They came mainly from Denmark and Sweden. The Duchy was established in 911, but its boundaries were somewhat extended on two later occasions, in 924 and I believe in 931. When I lived in Normandy in 1924, the Normans celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the second settlement, and I was very kindly invited. The celebration took place in Bayeux, and I had the privilege of meeting Norman representatives from Guernsey and Jersey, Scotland and Wales, and Canada. It was strictly a family gathering and I was greeted as a member of the family.

The absence of actual warfare in the history of the relations between Sweden and Great Britain is a definite achievement in view of the reputation we had acquired in the earlier centuries of being a rather belligerent nation, somewhat difficult to get along with.

But England had a great deal to do with the development of this close relationship. England brought Christianity to Sweden. Sigfrid, the Archbishop of York, went to Sweden to preach the Christian faith and he converted the Swedish King, Olof Skottkonung, and all his army at Husaby in Sweden. This was in the eleventh century. He was followed by many others. The names of Saint David, Saint Botvid and Saint Eskil from England are prominent in the Church of Sweden. The Swedish city of Eskilstuna—which is mainly known for the excellence of the tools manufactured there—was named after Saint Eskil. The Anglo-Saxon influence on the Church of Sweden has been very strong and active.

There has been a tendency to overlook how much the old connections and the traditional trade with England have meant to Sweden.

One of the Swedish kings sent his emissaries to London in 1557 in order to negotiate a commercial treaty. They were given instructions in which special reference was made to the fact that "in former days, and particularly some few hundred years ago, a warm friendship had existed between the two countries and the two peoples had carried on a considerable trade with each other to their mutual advantage". It is interesting to note from such a document that the trade monopoly of the Hanseatic League had not succeeded in breaking the old Swedish links with England.

At the time of Cromwell, England was the main importer of wood and iron from Sweden. Trade between the two countries was active and a most important factor in their economic life. A treaty was concluded in 1654. It has remained in force as a proof of the stability of our relations with the British Empire. This agreement, as well as later treaties from various periods down to 1826, was still listed in the last handbook of the Swedish Foreign Office as having ruling force.

The treaty of 1654 is actually valid between Sweden and Canada this very day, as well as the other treaties I have mentioned. They were confirmed in relation to Canada by an exchange of notes dating from 1911.

You will be interested in knowing that the world-wide reputation of the city of Sheffield in England for high grade steel products, especially cutlery, was originally made on the basis of Swedish ore, which was the highest grade obtainable at that time. This was a strong foundation for our trade with England. We also had a rich natural resource in fairly large deposits of copper. A company operating these deposits and still in existence dates back to the year 1288, when privileges were first given to them as a share-holding company.

As a very young boy I was convinced that the names of Hamilton, Mackay, Spens, Ramsay, Douglas, Murray, Fleetwood and Stuart were typically Swedish names. They had been established in Sweden for three hundred years. They came from men who fought in the Swedish armies on the Continent under King Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War.

Much later English merchants came to the western coast of Sweden and settled down in the city of Gothenburg. Some of them have played an important part in the development of our forest industries. When new and improved methods of agriculture were introduced in Sweden in 1807, the lead was taken by Rutger Maclean who followed English models.

The first steam engine was introduced in Sweden in 1804 by the Englishman, Samuel Owen.

It is really not any more astonishing to meet those names in Sweden than it is to find a great many words of Scandinavian origin in the English language, dating back to the time when Danish, Norwegian and Swedish chieftains established the Danelaw in the north-eastern part of England. Even now Swedish fishermen can manage fairly well to understand fishermen from Scotland. Their accents are rather alike.

There are less than 100,000 people of Swedish descent in Canada, counting the second generation, but they brought to this Dominion traditions from Sweden which in many respects are close to English traditions. They have the same sense of local self-government and independence. A Swedish country court consists of a judge and twelve men elected among the people of the community. If the latter are unanimous they can overrule the judge and give the decision of the court. Such people do a great deal of thinking for themselves and they are not easily regimented. But they have been easily assimilated in Canada because they felt at home with you.

They have given you some 14,000 soldiers in the present war. Swedish people who have settled in Canada feel that, if this country is good enough to live in, it is good enough to die for. And they take a tremendous pride in this Dominion, speaking with her own voice among the nations.

Swedish Canadians have followed with keen interest the stand of Sweden in the present war. I believe they have noticed that the Swedish people have been ready to fight for their country, even with all odds against them. When Denmark and Norway were invaded, Sweden had a difficult choice to make. Should we have resigned ourselves to the thought of complete domination of the Northern countries by a foreign power? It was perfectly clear that our resources at that time were not sufficient for anything but our own defence, if attacked, and not sufficient even for that. We made our choice. The only thing we could possibly do was to keep our own country free, to keep our faith in the future and redouble the strengthening of our own defence.

The position of Sweden in the World War has been determined by two main considerations.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war Sweden, as did Denmark and Norway, declared that her policy was aimed at safeguarding her independence with all means at her disposal. We had no political alliances. This policy of independence meant neutrality. None of the Northern countries could have taken any other course, because of their limited military strength and their economic structure. We had to rely upon ourselves. Sweden has no oil and no coal, which are essential to our economic life.

The second consideration in deciding our policy was therefore that we must make some arrangements with the belligerent powers in order to secure a minimum of necessary supplies and we had to build up our army. Otherwise we would have lost all liberty of action. As a matter of fact we are satisfied in our own minds that our military preparedness saved our independence in 1940.

In December, 1939, Sweden signed a wartime trade agreement with Great Britain. This was based upon an undertaking to limit our exports to prewar levels, so that our most essential imports might continue. Before the war England took a greater part of our exports than any other country, or some 24 per cent. All exports to countries within the British Empire amounted to some 30 per cent of the total. Germany took some 16 per cent. On the other hand our imports from Germany exceeded those from England.

During the early period of the war we could carry on trade on the basis of this agreement, which meant that exports to Germany did not exceed prewar levels. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war we had introduced complete control of our foreign trade.

When Norway and Denmark were invaded in April, 1940, the situatin changed completely. We had iron ore shipments for Great Britain which could no longer go forward because of the German blockade. This did not increase the shipments of iron ore to Germany. On the contrary, we gradually reduced them. But we had depended upon Great Britain for our supply of coal, over 50 per cent. of our imports having come from England and some 30 per cent. from Poland. The Polish mines had been taken over by the Germans at the initial stage of the war and British shipments could no longer get through after the occupation of Norway. Without coal we could not keep our industries going and we had to maintain them in order to keep our army supplied. We had to drive a bargain to get it in return for iron ore and we have not shipped more than we needed to cover the coal we required.

It is not generally known that after the invasion of Norway, Swedish shipowners placed at the disposal of the

Allies 600,000 tons of Swedish ships. Of those there are only 200,000 tons left; the rest have been sunk. Many of those ships had come to Canadian ports and were well known there. The total of lives lost in the Swedish merchant marine is some 1,400. They died in war services.

Nor is it so well known that even after the German blockade some trade has continued between Sweden and England. No Swedish reports have appeared on the subject, but one was recently released from London that a small fleet of fastgoing British boats had kept up a regular traffic through the German blockade, from the Swedish port of Lysekil on our western coast to England. One of those ships, specially built, was named the *Corsair* and carried a picture of Nelson in the captain's cabin, which was very small indeed. Those ships brought Swedish ball bearings to England.

That is, of course, a tribute to British daring and British seamanship. But the shipments were made from Swedish territory and they did reach their destination.

A small fleet of Norwegian ships happened to be in Swedish waters at the time of the invasion of Norway. The owners, who were then in occupied territory, asked for their release. The Norwegian Government in London, on the other hand, claimed that all Norwegian ships were under their orders. The Supreme Court of Sweden decided that they were not to be released for return to occupied territory. They set out for England. Some reached English ports, some were sunk and some had to return to Sweden. But we did not send them back to Norway.

Such events could only have happened in a country with a policy of her own. They certainly do not indicate any special favours to anyone at war with Canada.

I do not know if you realize that a special edition of *The Economist* has been printed in Sweden during the war in order to save space for mail on the planes between England and Sweden. I do not know if you are aware of the fact the London *Times* reaches Sweden with the least possible delay; or that films shown in Sweden are predominantly of British or American origin. Don't you think old historical ties between England and Sweden, to which I referred at some length in the early part of my speech, might have something to do with it?

There has never been any doubt of the complete unity of our people and their opinion in this conflict. By keeping her own freedom and aiding our Northern neighbours in their distress, Sweden quite clearly indicated the general aims of her policy. It should not be forgotten that this policy has been maintained by a country surrounded on every side by the military forces of one of the warring powers.

Now I know that some of you would like to ask me why Sweden has traded at all with our neighbours to the south. The answer is quite simple. We have traded to survive and only to survive, to get coal for our industry or rails for our railways. If we had not, our ability to resist pressure would have been weakened because our industries could not have been kept going. Very recently Sweden closed all of her Baltic ports for shipments abroad, which means that all trade with Germany has ceased and we have to rely upon the stocks we have available at home.

We are consequently limited to our own resources in our relief to the Northern countries. Those demands are quite heavy and the Swedish people have made it clear that they are prepared to pay for such relief by reducing their own standard of living. The Swedish Parliament some time ago allotted 200 million kroner for relief, mainly for our neighbours. This is only an initial part of the relief requirements. We have already made an arrangement with the Norwegian Government in London in respect of Swedish deliveries to Norway in due time. We have also made an agreement with Finland, subject to their armistice with the Soviet Union, regarding immediate shipments to Finland of foodstuffs in order to solve their most pressing needs. Those deliveries are made from supplies in Sweden which we will have to replace from abroad.

In a recent Gallup Poll here, the question was asked if the Swedish people would consent to a reduction in their standard of living in order to render greater service to their neighbours in distress. A clear majority favoured that course of action.

There are at the present time some 115,000 refugees in Sweden. Many of them are Danes and Norwegians. There are a great number of children from our neighbouring countries who have been cared for by various organizations, among them the Swedish "Save the Children" Society. In relation to population, the number of refugees in Sweden would correspond to three million refugees in the United States.

There are Canadian fliers who have landed in Sweden, when in difficulty. They have been well received and have made themselves well liked. One of these Canadian fliers recently published an article in MacLeans Magazine under the heading "The Swedes Are Our Friends!" Gentlemen, I can assure you that he was correct. The Swedes are your friends, and we wish to count on it that Canadians are our friends. All Canadian fliers who have landed in Sweden during this war have been splendid representatives for Canada.

The war has brought about quite as radical changes in the economic life of Sweden as have occurred here in Canada. There is, however, a difference which may have been overlooked abroad. Sweden's foreign trade has been drastically curtailed. Our main export markets have been cut off and we have met with increasing difficulties in securing some of the most essential imports. The war reduced the volume of Sweden's foreign trade in 1941 to less than half of prewar volume (in 1938). Our exports have been further reduced in the following years. The value of Swedish exports in the first five months of 1944 was down to 314 million kroner. In the corresponding period of 1939 the value was 730 million kroner.

Gentlemen, I am sure it is clear to you that we have suffered as a result of the war. We have suffered in our trade; we have suffered in our food supplies and our fuel supplies and we have voluntarily agreed to give all possible help to our sister nations. Do not think for one moment that we have profited at the expense of our fellow democracies.

When Denmark and Norway were invaded in 1940 Sweden was cut off from 70 per cent. of her usual markets. We made a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in September, 1940, in order to meet some of our most urgent import requirements. Our trade with the Soviet Union ceased at the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941. We took up new negotiations to secure some limited traffic through the Allied and German blockades. and with the consent of Great Britain and the United States a so-called "safe conduct traffic" was established with some overseas ports. It has naturally been a small traffic. In the first six months of 1944 sixteen ships engaged in this traffic arrived in Sweden with some 160,000 tons of cargo from abroad.

British and American approval of the safe conduct traffic has meant that Sweden was not entirely isolated. When our main trade with Great Britain was cut off we solved some of our problems by new methods at home. Before the war coal and coke covered over 80 per cent. of our fuel requirements; in the first part of this year only 40 per cent. The remaining part of our fuel requirements have been covered by firewood and peat. We have also used electric power on a much larger scale than before.

In this way we have kept our liberty of action. When it became increasingly difficult to secure necessary imports from Germany, mainly of coal, we were in a position to hold back our exports to the equivalent of what we received. Trade with Germany has gradually fallen off. In September Sweden closed her Baltic ports to foreign ships, which means that our exports to Germany stopped. During this winter therefore we can not count on imports from Germany, and we will have to rely upon our own fuel to keep the factories going.

We will also close our borders in another respect. The Swedish Minister of Social Affairs announced in a speech on September fifth that Sweden would refuse asylum to war criminals. He stated on that occasion:

"Our policy so far has been to keep our frontiers open for refugees, but it should not be concluded that Sweden will be open, or is prepared to grant asylum, to those who by their actions have defied the conscience of the civilized world or betrayed their own country."

"It can be taken for granted that Sweden will close its frontiers in the face of a large or a small invasion of such "political" refugees and should anyone slip through he will be returned to his own country."

Canada has a great place among the nations of today and a great future. It is a place that you have won for yourselves by opening up this wide and beautiful country, by pioneering spirit and resourcefulness and sacrifices in war. It is a place that you will have the privilege of maintaining in planning for a world of peace, justice and progress. Sweden will have many interests in common with you and will have a similar outlook on many problems in the fields of international collaboration. To such collaboration Sweden will be ready to bring goodwill and efforts of her own as well as an unbroken record of free institutions and free thought.

I would like, in conclusion to sum up a few points.

It is obvious that Sweden has suffered from the war. Sweden has not profited by trade or commerce because of the war. By maintaining her independence Sweden has been of greater value to the United Nations than would have been possible had she been invaded. Sweden has been able to help Norway and Denmark greatly by receiving refugees from their countries. And the independent position of Sweden has been the necessary condition for her participation in humanitarian work on a large scale during the war.

I am very grateful for the privilege of visiting The Empire Club of Canada and bringing you a greeting from Sweden.

"AS THE ALLIES FACE THE FUTURE"

AN ADDRESS BY

COLONEL WILLARD CHEVALIER

Chairman: The President: Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, November 16, 1944

MR. C. R. CONQUERGOOD: In the United States, there is a very active organization initially known as the C.E.D. C.E.D. stands for Committee for Economic Development. It is an independent, non-political, non-profit corporation organized by American business men, and dedicated to a single objective—to stimulate and assist American business to make its greatest possible contribution to sustained high levels of post-war employment and production.

Among the public spirited business men, who have given leadership to this organization, which now has well over two thousand local or branch committees, is our guest speaker to-day, Colonel Willard Chevalier, Vice-President of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., of New York City. Our guest graduated from the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute in 1910 with the degree of Civil Engineer. As an Engineer, he worked on the New York subways and the New York State Barge Canal and other projects both on design and construction.

From May, 1917, to May, 1919, he served progressively as Captain, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel with the 11th United States Field Engineers Corps on field service in France. During more than half of this time, he was brigaded with the B.E.F.

Early in 1922, he entered the publishing field as Associate Editor of *Engineering News-Record*. Later, he became its publisher. In 1926, he launched a new venture in the publishing field, a pictorial construction review *Canstruction Methods*. In 1934, he was elected Vice-

President and Director of the Company with which he is now associated and assumed charge of their mining as well as the construction publications. He also writes a column each week for another of the Company's well-known journals *Business Week* of which he is now publisher.

I am pleased to present Colonel Willard Chevalier, who will now address us on the topic "As the Allies Face the Future."

COLONEL WILLARD CHEVALIER: During the last six weeks I have traveled from the Atlantic to the Pacific and back again. I have been close to the Mexican border on the south, and now I have crossed a line that marks the border of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

I am quite sure that that line is important to the map makers, and to those who must administer the affairs of government. I know too that the plain people of our two countries, who for so long have proved that independent nations can be good neighbors and who have been drawn even closer by their common efforts in this war, have found that line to be no barrier as they have labored and fought to make their joint efforts productive of victory.

Because Canada has been in the war longer than the United States, and because we both cling steadfastly and loyally to our distinctive national views and sentiments, our approaches to many of our common problems have not been and cannot be identical. And I suspect that there are just as many planes of cleavage between various groups of you Canadians as there are amongst my own people. So it has occured to me that I might best serve you today by offering you a brief report on what American business men are thinking and talking about, together with a quick glimpse of how we are preparing to face the future.

Until last week, of course, one of the principal subjects of conversation on our side of the line was politics. Every four years, war or no war, we have to suffer a national political campaign. The campaign just ended was the second in history to be conducted while our nation was at war. But if you followed the newspapers and magazines, you have discovered that the candidates and their supporters did not permit our outside fight to dampen our traditional enthusiasm for our family squabbles. Now I know there are some people in the world who cannot understand that—and who never will. But I am confident that you *can* and *do* understand it. And you don't get that understanding just from watching *us* either.

The campaign proved pretty well, I think, that it still is possible to give full scope to our free-swinging political oratory without seriously interfering with our paramount job of turning out the men and materials of victory. It proves also, at least to me, that no ordinary human being who aspires to public office can possibly be as smart as he claims to be and that none can be quite as stupid as his opponent tries to make him out.

But all that now is behind us. The people of the United States are back on the beam, concentrating on their wartime tasks and devoting more of their attention to the problem that lies ahead.

No business man, with whom I have talked on our side, is inclined to belittle the problems of transition from war to peace, and the necessity for a long-range program that will insure peace with an expanding economy for a long time to come. Within a population as large as ours, it is quite possible to find a few who feel that the problems ahead are too difficult for us to solve. But I am sure you will find they are a minority. The majority is convinced that defeatism would simply breed more and graver troubles for us, that it would serve merely to delay the solutions we must achieve if we are to make progress either in war or in peace.

During the last couple of years we have developed what amounts to almost a new major industry. I refer to the activity popularly known as "postwar planning". To some amongst us, who are happily fewer from month to month, this new concern appears to be a menace to the conduct of the war and therefore not to be encouraged. But the great majority of our people are convinced that it is an essential part of our war effort, although they recognise that it must, for the time being, take second place to the immediate and urgent demands of the fighting fronts.

Anxious though our business men may be to revert to civilian production, and anxious though our civilian population may be to obtain more goods and new goods and better goods, the vast majority of them understand that if these aspirations are permitted to interfere with our war production we shall but postpone the day of final victory and thereby add to the toll of sorrow that is the heritage of war.

War Production

I think that we in the United States and Canada may well be proud of our war efforts. In 1939 Canada had no munitions industry at all. And the United States was producing only two per cent of the world's output. Four years later Canada had risen to fourth place among the United Nations in the manufacture of war materials, and the United States was turning out approximately one-half of all the munitions for the Allied cause.

But proud as we are of what we have accomplished, we are constantly reminded that war planning and production cannot remain static, either on the battle front or on the industrial front.

Mr. J. A. Krug, new chairman of our War Production Board, said in a recent review that no great increase in overall production is anticipated for the final stages of the war. But, he added, specific needs change as we enter new theaters and as we modify our tactics to take full advantage of the lessons we learn in the field.

But through all these changes and adaptations, manpower continues as one of our major problems. The greatest needs for labor now are in the production of castings and forgings, of heavy duty tires, of lumber, and of cotton duck. Because of delays in the manufacture of tires and forgings, some of our heavy truck and field artillery schedules have not been met, and only recently was the War Production Board able to announce that we had caught up with the demand for bombs.

But even as we begin to meet the schedule for bombs, the demand for rocket-propelled ammunition has jumped enormously, and the manufacture of rocket fuel has become a big industry. While we have reached and even exceeded our overall goal for aircraft production, the need for primary and basic trainers is diminishing and the call for four-engine bombers is increasing. Here again we have an illustration of the fact that overall and average figures never show a true picture of this constantly changing war economy.

Manpower undoubtedly will continue to be a major problem in war production for another reason. As we come nearer to V-Day in each of the several theaters of war, rumor stirs up talk that certain plants are likely to be shut down. As a result the average worker begins to seek a job that is likely to be more permanent. Already some areas of our country that attracted large numbers of war workers over the last two years are beginning to observe the migration of those workers from their war plants into more promising fields.

The Transition Period

Business men agree generally that there will be some unemployment during the transition period. They also agree that even one day of involuntary unemployment, that can be traced to lack of adequate planning, is a tragedy we must do our best to avoid.

Their approach to this problem was the organization of the Committee for Economic Development, now a little more than two years old. In some respects it is similar to your own National Industrial Federation. Surveys have been made on a community and regional basis and individual employers are being urged by committees, set up in their own communities, to lay down now their own plans for postwar development.

Everyone who has taken a hand in planning for postwar has learned that the two most important items in such plans must be the word "however" and the phrase "on the other hand". Nevertheless, every effort is being made to avoid the attitude reported by a business analyst who asked a client what he would do if the war were to end tomorrow. The business man hesitated, and then replied: "I probably would do what I should have done a couple of months ago."

The full value of these months of study and analysis cannot be known in the immediate future, but even organized labor, suspicious at first of any business man's organization, now has come to realize that this effort to provide productive jobs for some 55 million workers in the United States is earnest and sincere, and that it offers the only logical and practical approach to date.

There has been talk, of course, that if private industry does not provide postwar jobs the government will. But objective analysis of that statement brings convincing proof that there hasn't been enough planning so far to provide jobs in public works for all who may need jobs after the war. And that is without regard to the long-term wisdom of attempting such a solution of the postwar reemployment problem.

We had some experience during the depression with a plan for making jobs in that fashion. We called it the W.P.A. The best that a worker could hope for under that plan was a bare subsistence living. The test for employment under that system was not whether a man was qualified to do a job, but whether he had no other means of support.

But aside from its dubious social value, the accomplishments of the W.P.A. were meager because of the lack of planning. The program added greatly to the national debt and created few productive facilities that would help to carry or reduce that debt in later years. Our business men are determined that this shall not happen again. And they know that the one way to avoid it is for private business to prepare now plans that will create productive jobs—

jobs that will help to raise our standard of living, not to tear it down.

War Surplus Disposal

Employment will be one of the major problems in the transition period but many others are allied with it.

Industry, for instance, cannot plan effectively unless it knows just what disposition is to be made of the billions of dollars worth of war factories that have been built with government funds.

Retailers and wholesalers cannot complete their plans until they know how the billions of dollars worth of surplus goods that will be released with victory are to be distributed.

The United States government has about 15½ billion dollars invested in war plants, many of them huge layouts that are outside the reach of the small business man. But our Department of Justice must check each proposed sale to determine whether transfer of a plant to a big corporation would tend to create a monopoly.

It has been almost a year since you in Canada created the War Assets Corporation, to handle the disposal of your government's property at the end of the war. Our Congress wrangled over the problem most of the summer and, despite some eloquent pleas for placing responsibility in the hands of a single administrator, Congress eventually voted for a three-man War Property Administration Board.

The President did not see fit to name the members of the new board during the political campaign. The result has been a delay in undertaking the studies that must be made before the Board can even outline the principles to be used in dealing with this huge federal investment. Congress has ruled that no property costing more than 5 million dollars can be sold until 30 days after a report has been filed with Congress by the Board; and that will mean additional delay.

In war, everyone recognizes that time is the one essential commodity. Money costs are secondary when the fighting men need supplies. In peace there may be a tendency to reverse the order, in the hope of salvaging a large part of the government's dollar investment. But if the postwar transition is to be effected with the least loss of employment and civilian production, we may have to rate time as highly in this matter of surplus disposal as we do in our war production.

More and more business men are learning the difference between surplus and scrap. But the military men hesitate to write off any item as scrap so long as the war is on, while industry, anxious to complete its planning and to put postwar programs into effect promptly, is pressing for decisions.

Most leaders in Washington now agree that much of the 100 or more billion dollars worth of war goods that will be on the surplus list at the end of the war, never will have any value on the civilian market. Many articles will be worth less than the cost of disassembling them into merchantable units.

This problem seems to boil down to one of education because those officials who personally are willing to label most of such surplus goods as "junk" hesitate to do so for fear the public will not understand. And because another election day always is just around the corner, the public's attitude carries a lot of weight with those who must shoulder the responsibility.

Postwar Taxation

Even if business and government, working together, are able to solve the problems of contract termination and surplus disposal, more and more of our people are coming to believe that there must be a new approach to federal taxation if we are to have a prosperous nation during the years to come.

In the course of a political campaign we hear constant reference to the need for lower taxes but, as a matter of fact, most of our business men ask not so much for tax reduction as for tax reform.

So far, our government has no officially defined postwar taxation program. But several organizations and numerous analysts have studied the problem. They know that the incidence of taxes will play an important part in their efforts to plan for maximum use of our record productive capacity, and for maximum employment of our people.

The Committee for Economic Development, Research Division, completed a study of postwar taxation. Its plan sets up three broad objectives:

1. Taxes must impose the least possible restriction on the expansion of production and employment, with particular emphasis against discouraging the launching of new enterprises, and the expansion of existing business.
2. Taxes should be fair, falling equally on persons in like circumstances and designed to cut as little as possible into the buying power of the consumer.
3. Taxes must be adequate to raise a revenue sufficient to meet those federal expenditures which are truly advantageous to the general welfare, to maintain justifiable confidence in the soundness of the dollar, and to underwrite the safety of the federal debt as an investment.

We cannot take time here to discuss the program in detail. Suffice it to note that after the war the interest on our federal debt alone will exceed the total federal revenues during the years immediately before the war. So it becomes evident that we cannot possibly hope for low taxes, when measured against prewar standards.

The economists and tax experts, who made the Committee for Economic Development study, believe that more and more reliance should be placed on the personal income tax. So they propose a graduated tax, ranging from a basic 16 to 20 per cent, compared to the present minimum of 23 per cent, up to a maximum of 74 per cent, compared with the present top of 94 per cent.

The plan calls for elimination of all excise and sales taxes, except on alcohol and tobacco, and perhaps gasoline. It urges abolition of the present double taxation on corporate income. To effect this, it proposes to apply the personal income tax rate to corporation profits; then by exempting dividends from personal taxes it makes the corporation tax, in effect, a withholding tax, just as taxes now are withheld from wages and salaries. The plan would remove serious inequities in the present tax system, would eliminate loopholes in estate and gift tax laws and provide for the eventual abolition of the tax-exempt bond, which now serves as a refuge for some capital that can be more useful as investment in new enterprise.

I must make it clear that this is not an official program. It is a goal that has been set up after months of study by some of our best economic and business minds. The whole plan is based on a national income of about 140 billion dollars a year, which would mean that jobs should be provided for about 55 million persons. Once that goal were reached, it would provide sufficient revenue to begin reduction of the national debt, which now stands at more than 200 billion dollars.

EMPLOYMENT FOR VETERANS.

When our first peacetime draft was ordered a little more than four years ago, the law provided that those who were called to service should have their jobs back after the emergency.

Many of the big corporations have worked out programs for putting veterans back into their plants, even if they no longer are capable of handling the jobs they held when they left.

But there are only about 2,500 businesses in the United States that employ more than 1,000 persons. And there are two million employers who hire less than 100 workers each. These two million provide approximately one-half of the jobs for the nation. So any approach to postwar employment for veterans must depend on the wholehearted cooperation of those employers whom we classify as small business men.

Many small concerns have closed their doors since we started arming for this war. Others have undergone changes in production methods and in markets so that the old jobs simply do not exist. So the returning veteran presents not one problem, but at least three:

1. Placing him on his old job,
2. Vocational guidance, training and rehabilitation and
3. Creating new jobs.

We have the Veterans Administration, the United States Employment Service and the Federal Civil Service Commission as national agencies that will give the veteran assistance on his return to civilian life. In addition, there are countless community organizations and official agencies at the state and municipal level.

Some labor leaders foresee difficulties because of the conflict between the seniority rights provided in their contracts with employers, and the guarantee of a job to the veteran. Obviously, the most satisfactory way to avoid conflict between the man who has remained on the home front job and the man who is returning from the battle front is to see to it that there are jobs enough for all.

If all the service men were to be released at once, and all the war factories were to close at the same time, the scramble for jobs would bring conflict and confusion. But there is every indication now that the retooling of industry for peacetime production will be a continuing process over a period of months. Moreover, it now seems probable that several months, at least, will elapse between the defeat of Germany, with a proportionate cutback in war production, and the final victory over Japan, which will bring a general halt to war orders.

Service Trades and Professions

Furthermore, we must remember that we shall not find the answer to the employment problem in industry alone. Thousands of our people and of yours, never have held, and never will seek jobs in factories.

Despite the great increase in our industrial productive capacity, during the 60 years from 1870 to 1930, the number of workers employed in manufacturing in the United States increased only from 22 per cent to about

31 per cent of the total employment. In the same period, the increase in the service trades and professions was from 25 per cent to more than 47 per cent, or nearly half of the total employment in the country.

So there are millions who do not seek factory jobs or supervisory duties in industry. These people should find places fairly promptly and surveys indicate that a substantial percentage of the men now in the armed forces do not want the same kind of job they had before they took the uniform.

Many went directly from school and never really held jobs before. Many will need additional schooling before they will be fitted for the work they hope to do. So the War Department is establishing an overseas education service for troops awaiting discharge. Many of the returned veterans will be eligible for free tuition plus expense allowances up to $92 a month for a year of special college training before they are put out on their own.

Many of the veterans expect to go into business for themselves, so the government is making provision in the form of guaranteed loans, through regular commercial banking channels, for those who will need funds to start small businesses, or to buy farms.

Opportunity for All

I have given you some of the specific examples of our approach to particular problems. I am not insisting that they are the best possible answers even for us, and naturally I would not even suggest that they would fit your conditions.

Because Canada has been in the war longer than we have, I know that in many instances you are more advanced in postwar planning than we are. But I believe the ultimate goal—*to maintain a country rich in opportunity for the individual*—is the same on both sides of the international line.

I discover, in Canada as in the United States, differences of opinion as to how we should go about achieving that goal. I know that it often is difficult to differentiate between political and humanitarian arguments when we start talking about *security* and *opportunity*. But I think it is high time to stop all talk of opportunity *versus* security, when they are not, in fact, antagonistic.

I cannot travel about the United States or Canada as I do and bring myself to believe that opportunities no longer exist. It is true that many of our great natural resources appear to be amply developed, but perhaps such appearances are deceptive.

Let me quote to you from a United States government report during depression days:

"Industry has been enormously developed, cities have been transformed, distances covered, and new sets of economic tools have been given in profusion . . . .What is strictly necessary has been done, often times to superfluity. There will be no room for marked extension, such as has been witnessed during the last 50 years, or to afford remunerative employment of the vast amount of capital which has been created during that period. The days of large profits are probably past. There may be room for further intensive, but not extensive, development of industry in the present area of civilization."

That sounds pretty discouraging, doesn't it? But before you take it too much to heart, let me tell you that that statement was made in 1886—58 years ago—by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, our first United States Commissioner of Labor.

It merely goes to show that it is human to be mistaken, and that we are likely to be mistaken if we sell our respective countries short.

This argument that there are no more opportunities is not a new one. Every time something goes wrong with our economic machine, some one tells us that the trouble is that we have grown as much as we ever can hope to. They say that from now on we can only plan to spread our present work and production to insure for everyone a fair share.

But there is another approach, it seems to me, to this program of giving to each a fair share. And that is to maintain, as far as is humanly possible, equality of opportunity for all. It may well be that we can *plan opportunity* with less effort and with more success than we can *plan security without* opportunity.

American business men—and by American I mean to include the whole area from the Rio Grande River to the North Pole—are convinced, I believe, that if opportunity is kept open, the problem of security will solve itself.

If we hold open the door of opportunity to every individual to go as far and as fast as he can, in free and fair competition with every other individual, there will always be some one who will do a better job, produce a better article, or render a superior service. And that is what leads to the creation of new jobs, more money in the pay envelopes, and a greater demand for the things we are capable of producing—rather than restrictions on what we are allowed to produce.

We can have an expanding economy only if we place more goods and services at the disposal of the people. Only a nation constantly expanding its productivity can hope to raise the living standards of its people.

But a nation that appears to have reached its last frontier, so far as lands and natural resources are concerned, need not be discouraged any more than the people of this continent were discouraged almost 60 years ago when a government official asserted, with full confidence that he knew what he was talking about, that there would be no room for expansion such as had been witnessed in the previous 50 years.

As we draw down our natural resources, new frontiers always can be created by science and technology. Indeed, it is resourceful technology that enables us to make more effective use of dwindling natural resources and to substitute new materials to replace those that may be depleted. The constant application of new invention may mean, on occasion, some technological unemployment, but for every job that was lost when the wagon and carriage trade disappeared at least six new jobs were created in the automobile industry. And who can say that the airplane industry—or some industry as yet unborn—may not bring as marked a change in our way of life during the next quarter or half century.

We should know by now that no group of our people can unduly burden or restrict any other group without, in the long run, doing injury to every one. If, for example, labor uses its newly developed political power to restrict the introduction and full use of technological advances, in order to save the jobs of a small segment of the working population, it thereby throttles the opportunity to create many more new jobs. And if capital, seeking to protect an investment in plant or tools that have been made obsolete by science, refuses to write itself off, we cannot enjoy the expanding economy that our technical progress makes possible.

Needs not Surpluses

If this war has taught us any one lesson, it is that no nation can be truly self-sufficient. Trade, domestic and foreign, must be the foundation for prosperity, in either a national or a world economy that is based on a high degree of specialization.

Some nations need foreign trade more than others. But I think we shall never truly approach a solution of the problem until we start thinking in terms of needs, rather than of getting rid of surpluses. Great Britain did not establish herself as a great trading nation because of her surpluses. It was because her people made things that other countries *wanted*. Men have not braved the seas to bring spices from the East Indies because there was a surplus of spices there, but because we and other nations *wanted* them.

We in the United States quickly learned, when we began to prepare for war, that we lacked mica, tin, chrome, tungsten, nickel, rubber, diamonds and many other raw materials required by our industry. We are dependent on other nations for coffee, tea, cocoa and a considerable portion of our wool and sugar.

When the war is over there will be surplus productive capacity both in the United States and Canada, but only in a few fields of endeavor, and even there only if we fail to seek out other peoples who can *use* the things we are capable of making and growing.

I had some letters recently from a couple of men who are engaged in the export business. They were not talking about surpluses glutting the postwar market. They were wondering how they, and other exporters, would be able to meet the huge demands of a wartorn world.

Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, who have served our nation as advisers in two wars, recently reported on their study of the postwar problem. They were not pessimistic. They wrote:

"It is our conviction that we will emerge from the war with the greatest opportunities any people ever had. A postwar depression is not inevitable. One half of the world will need rebuilding. Enormous demands, put aside during the war and added to pre-war demands, await satisfaction. Much depends on the settlement of the peace. If it be one under which men and women can look forward with hope—not fear—there will not be enough hands to do what needs to be done."

JOINT EFFORTS

We have demonstrated in war that we can lay aside intense nationalism to achieve efficiency in fighting a world-wide war. We have yet to demonstrate that we can achieve the same unity of purpose and the same efficiency in fighting for world-wide prosperity. But the opportunity will be there. Recently the Combined Production and Resources Board, on which both Canada and the United States have representatives, called attention to its work in providing a clearing house for international economic statistics. It professed to see, in its present activities "the beginnings of a better understanding of our common problems in peace, as well as in war."

Canada and the United States have a special interest in the spread of this better understanding. As I have said, we learned long ago how to be neighbors and how to carry on trade for the benefit of both countries.

For 20 years before the war, more than 60 per cent of Canada's imports came from the United States and we, in turn, purchased approximately 40 per cent of your exports. For every four dollars of United States money invested in Canada there is one dollar of Canadian money invested in the United States. And I think it is significant that, while Canada glories in her loyalty to the British Crown and Commonwealth your monetary system is based on the dollar, rather than the pound.

We may be proud of the contributions our two nations have made to the war effort but I think we can be most proud of our joint efforts. Even before the United States entered the war, some 9,000 of our citizens had joined your Royal Canadian Air Force. Many of them declined an opportunity to transfer to the United States Army after we became involved. They felt at home where they were—and they *were* at home.

On the production front, a good example of what I mean by joint effort is found in the recent announcement that Canada was making tires from synthetic rubber produced in the United States. But this synthetic output would not have been possible had it not been for the production of some of the chemicals in Canadian plants.

The International Civil Aviation Conference had hardly opened in Chicago before the delegates from more than 50 nations were shown the interdependence of Canada and the United States in any world-wide postwar aviation program.

That Canada found herself acting as conciliator between the divergent views of the United States and the British delegates to the conference is not surprising to any one who stops to consider the close ties of the Dominion with the Mother Country and the neighborliness that prevails on the North American continent.

The Canadian approach to the aviation authority problem, as I understand it, is to get started on a provisional basis and work for the development of a permanent regulatory authority after the transition period. That, I believe, offers a general pattern for dealing with most of the matters that the nations of the world must discuss.

Aviation, monetary practices, shipping, food distribution, foreign trade—these are just a few of the many problems that confront us as we prepare to make our postwar world a peaceful world. And in nearly every instance we probably shall find that provisional agreements and arrangements must pave the way for eventual settlement.

Our success in handling these provisional programs will go far toward determining whether we ever shall achieve our ultimate objective of creating a security organization capable of maintaining the peace over a long period of years.

In the United States we still have isolationists who think that we can dig in behind the security of our frontiers and let the rest of the world go hang. We have also universalists, who think that the United States should take a strong hand in everything that happens, whether it be in the Balkans, in Palestine, Russia, China, or even Canada. But these are extremes, and I am happy to report that the extremists are not in a majority.

I cannot speak for the United States as a whole, or for the business men of the United States, but the majority, I believe, are now convinced that, at this stage of human development, there are advantages in both nationalism and internationalism. And they know, too, that each has its price.

It is, above all, the hope of most business men that we shall never become so impressed by our new status on the international scene that our nation will become an international busybody, attempting to impose our political and economic philosophies on other nations. And it is their hope also that other nations will show a similar restraint with respect to our own national peculiarities.

Historical Examples

The proposals of Dumbarton Oaks, as you have seen, represent, at this time, only starting points for discussion. I am inclined to agree with your Prime Minister, who avoided direct approval or condemnation, but asked, instead, for "careful and earnest study."

And as the nations of the world—large and small—do study, and discuss proposals for preserving peace, it is my prayer that they can always look to Canada and the United States for inspiration, whenever the skies are dark with distrust and the horizon may be obscured by the fogs of despair. May the political leaders of all nations find here in Canada and the United States the proof that two nations can live together in peace, not just for a few years but for more than a century.

Let them look not just to the present, but to the past. There have been many opportunities for conflict between our two countries if we had desired it. A little less than a century ago we had, in our country, a political slogan "54-40 or fight," as we sought to settle the Pacific boundary question. It was a popular slogan. But we did *not* extend our boundary to 54-40—and we did *not* fight. We compromised on the 49th parallel and I doubt that anyone on either side of the border is less happy to-day as a result of that compromise.

Our ability to be peaceful neighbors is not the fruit of one session, or a series of sessions around the conference table, but of more than a century of arbitration, of conciliation, of compromise—of understanding, and most of all, of faith in the honesty and good intentions of each other.

After six weeks of secret sessions at Dumbarton Oaks it was announced that the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia had reached only 90 per cent agreement. Those who are discouraged by that should read the history of the United States.

Our Constitutional Convention lasted four months. Little Rhode Island almost broke up the party with its insistence on the protection of the rights of the small states. The New York delegates actually withdrew for a time. When the work was completed, George Washington wrote to a friend:

"I wish the Constitution had been more perfect, but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time. And, as the constitutional door is opened for amendment hereafter, the adoption of it, under the present circumstances of the Union, is in my opinion desirable."

There have been 21 amendments to the Constitution since it was adopted. The Bill of Rights, the section of which we in the United States are most proud because of its guarantees of free speech and freedom of worship, came in the form of amendments. In other words, the 13 colonies that combined to form the first United States of America found it advisable not to demand perfection in the first draft, but to get started with the best that could be obtained at the time and to provide for amendment to meet new conditions and changes of attitude on the part of the people.

Those who are discouraged over our inability to reach a satisfactory conclusion on world peace in one session might well look to Canadian history and learn that here, too, Nova Scotia signed with great reluctance and that the Fathers of your Confederation were unable to convince Prince Edward Island that it was advisable to join in 1867.

Both our nations have, from humble beginnings, spread so that now they extend from coast to coast. Thomas Jefferson, our third president and one of the most brilliant men of his time, wrote that it probably would take 200 years for civilization to reach the Mississippi river and another 200 to 300 years for it to reach the Pacific Coast.

The degrees of civilization of which he wrote reached the Pacific ocean within 50 years. Under his time-table, based on the best available information of his day, civilization should be reaching the Mississippi about the year 2000 and the Pacific Coast in 2200 or 2300.

We have demonstrated on this continent that we can beat Europe's time-table for the establishment of permanent peaceful relations between nations. Let us hold up our accomplishment to the rest of the world—and to those in our own nations who cannot foresee peace in our time— and ask:

"Is it not possible for you to join with us in a new effort to reach our destination ahead of schedule?"

FORWARD TO THE TASK

The idea of representative democratic government—of making government the servant, rather than the master, of the people—did not originate in the United States or in Canada. It originated in the minds of men who would be free, regardless of when or where they lived.

The Revolution of 1776, that brought complete separation of our nation from England, was but one phase. Canada was equally discontented with the colonial system and reforms were effected that averted the necessity of complete separation from the Mother Country. But our goal was the same, even though the routes were different.

On both sides of the international boundary we have sought to have free men control their destinies. We may not say that we have succeeded to the utmost. We have not achieved perfection. But we may be proud that we are not standing still—that we are forging ahead. Much remains to be done. May the Providence, that has sustained us in all that we already have achieved, now endow the people of both our countries with the vision, the courage, and the faith to carry on with our uncompleted task.

"THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST"

An Address By

COMMANDER CORYDON M. WASSELL, (M.C.) U.S.N.R.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Tuesday, November 21, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: Our guest speaker today, Commander C. M. Wassell, was born in Little Rock, Arkansas. He graduated in medicine from the University of Arkansas. He was first appointed a provisional Lieutenant, Medical Corps, United States Naval Reserve in 1924.

On April 28th, 1942, about two and a half years ago, the President of the United States in a radio message to the nation referred to the heroic group of men who were serving their country in an outstanding manner during the present war. As an illustration he told the story of Dr. Wassell, a doctor in the service of the Navy, who against almost impossible conditions finally succeeded in getting about twelve badly wounded men out of Java to Australia.

Since that time, Dr. Wassell has been awarded the Navy Cross, with the following citation: "For especially meritorious conduct, devotion to duty, and utter disregard of personal safety, while in imminent contact with enemy forces and under attack from enemy aircraft, in caring for and evacuating the wounded of the United States Navy under his charge in Java, Netherlands East Indies, about March 1, 1942."

Since that time, Dr. Wassell has been promoted to the rank of Commander in the United States Navy.

Also since that time, a motion picture has been made and widely shown, which tells "The Story of Dr. Wassell" and newspapers, magazines and the radio have retold the story many times.

Commander Wassell is visiting Canada as a goodwill ambassador from the United States Navy. The Empire Club is indebted to the Navy League of Canada for bringing our guest to Toronto to lead in their celebration of Navy Week.

Prior to the war, Dr. Wassell served as a medical missionary in China for 14 years. He is to address us today on "The War in the Far East."

I have much pleasure in presenting Commander Corydon M. Wassell ,(M.C.), U.S.N.R.

COMMANDER C. M. WASSELL: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: You know, some time ago, before I left the West Coast, I was told a script would be sent me here from Washington, entitled "The War in the Far East." Now, when it comes to reading, I am about the poorest reader on the face of the earth, so it is a good thing the script didn't turn up.

I don't know where to start in today to talk to you people. I have been asking many questions about what you would want to hear, and what I should tell you. When I spoke about manufacturing, they said you were fed up on that. Well, I want to say you may be fed up on it, but it is going to have to roll ahead regardless, because the manufacturers have got to supply my buddies with things, and you, the executives and the financiers are going to have to carry on, as you are doing.

You know yesterday I asked them to let me go through an airplane plant. I have had the awfullest time trying to get in one, but I finally visited one this morning where they were manufacturing wings for the Mosquito bombers. People, you don't realize the lives that those wings are saving. I don't know a thing about Europe and you probably know more about that than I do. But I do know a little something of the Far East and they told me that these wings were going there, and, if they are, they can only be going to your cousins and my cousins, the

Aussies. And God knows they need that help! You can't manufacture too many for them because they are the finest people in the world.

When I got back people asked me about the Australians, and I want to say this, that they are just exactly like our Westerners in the United States and like the people of Canada. They are just fine people and, incidentally, if any of you gentlemen go out there I have still got some good telephone numbers. I hope my wife didn't hear me say that.

I know you are interested in the motion picture about me and I would like to tell you just a few little points about it.

You know, a lot of people have said since I have been here, "I understood Gary Cooper was coming." Well here he is—the second. But I like the picture, Gentlemen, because it depicts the saving rather than the destruction of life, and to me it is an outstanding job because it does not go in for propaganda. You know there are mighty few pictures in this day and time that are not so full of propaganda that you wonder where to take on and take off.

And again, the thing that I am proud of is that five per cent of the gross receipts of this picture, which I am reliably informed will amount to more than half a million dollars, go to navy relief—that is, to my buddy in the ranks.

I wish I could convey to you just how I feel about that. The best way is to remember that Second Commandment: "Love thy neighbour as thyself." There is something in that, Gentlemen. I don't care what you say. You wouldn't be here today, neither would these people in the Canadian Navy League be working like they are, if they didn't believe in that Second Great Commandment. You really get a kick out of life when you are doing for the other fellow, and you know it just as well as I do.

I will shock you when I tell you that the picture is ninety-eight per cent true. In that regard, most people say, "Doctor, did you ever take in any live hogs?" No, I never took in one in my life. I have taken many a dressed one. I have had six, seven or eight carcasses hanging up in my smoke-house at one time. Mr. De Mille said, "You don't think I am going to hang up a dressed hog in my super-duper technicolour picture, do you?" That is all-right, C.B. I think you did a pretty good job. At least Gary only held on to one of the hogs that got out of the pen.

I want to tell you a little story about hogs. To you people who are businessmen it shows how some people make money. When they were getting those hogs Mr. De Mille telegraphed down to Florida for some razor-backs. Some man in the swamps of Florida said, "I will sell you them at $70 or $80 apiece." That was for real razor-backs. They are wild hogs and sometimes they lose two or three good dogs in catching them and that makes them expensive. He said to me, "What do you think of that—$70 for a hog?" I said, "Well, C.B., if you pay that you are just a fool, that is all I have got to say." He said, "Where will I get them?" I said, "Send up to Marshall in Arkansas, and I am sure you will get all you want for $90—just plain wood hogs."

He telegraphed to the County Judge up there and he replied, "It's as cheap to send you a carload as a dozen." He wired back, "Send the carload."

Gentlemen, I want to tell you that carload got there just about the time pork was going up in 1942, and he sold the carload for three times what he paid for it and still had the dozen hogs left.

Now, as for Three Martini, the little Javanese nurse, she was a real entity. People ask whether she was built up like that. Mr. De Mille did a good job, I think, in building her up to represent the Javanese because she gave blood by direct transfusion to three of my boys and I think she deserved credit. That is the way I feel about it.

That little boy, Johnny—I want to say that he was the most "skirt chasingest" white man God ever put breath into. He always had a girl. Even in the hospital he would get right up close to the Sister and smile and make eyes at her. He really liked the ladies. He was a lovable little boy. I loved him but he could get me in more hot water in ten minutes than I could get out of in an hour. And why Mr. De Mille took his pyjamas away in Java, I don't know; but that actually did occur in the Hollywood Hospital in Freemantle, West Australia. That is actual fact.

I know a lot of you wonder about the love story in this picture. Yes, I worked with the present Mrs. Wassell in the Hospital in Wuching, China—the General Hospital of the Episcopalian Church, the same as the Church of England. The regular practice of medicine was my livelihood and investigation or research was a hobby with me.

But I want to say this to you in passing. Mrs. Wassell's father and mother were both British—one from Sunningdale and the other from near Sherwood Forest, and as for myself, I am a Wassell, and I have a lot of my people in England.

Now, we Americans and British can have our little difficulties. Like in a hockey game we scream and fight, but just don't let somebody outside the family butt in. I am very proud to say that in China I was on His Majesty's Service for about five years, and all of my relations in that Service were delightful. I like the people. I like them very much. You know, a lot of people, who come out from England, learn that in the Far East there are some English customs that they have never heard of before. I don't know exactly how it is in Canada, but when you picked this glass up and drank to the health of the King here today—don't you try that in China. You will have a fight on your hands. Somebody will throw the water in your face, because a toast like that in water is just not done. It has got to be the regular alcoholic champagne.

Well, enough of that picture. But I do want to say I sailed on a beautiful ship from San Francisco on December 7, 1941, at 11.00 a.m. It was a brand new ship and it was her maiden voyage, around the world. Before we could pass under the bridge the news came in that Hawaii had been bombed and we didn't get under the bridge. We kept turning around in the harbour there and about 2.30 we came back to the pier and unloaded that cargo of people. The ship was taken around to the army pier on the north side, where in forty-eight hours it was loaded with what I call "hell and destruction"—war munitions—and the first P-40's to go across.

Now, I am quoting a Canadian who I believe is correct when I say—did you know?—that Canada declared war on Japan before the United States. I can positively say that the Dutch did. The Dutch actually, according to time, declared war on Japan before we had the news in San Francisco. They were right on the jump. They knew what was going to happen. They had the aliens all lined up and I have this direct from a good Dutchman. He walked into the Japanese Consulate in Soerabaja and said, "You and everybody else here are under arrest." The Consul said, "Well, what for?" "We have declared war on you." The Japanese said, "But what for?" "We don't know what for."

Actually the Japs didn't have the word yet of what had happened. The Dutch had it before they did, and they just took them right in there.

We sailed the second time on December 17th from San Francisco and we were sitting on a ship that was like one of those that blow up in the Port of Chicago. It was dynamite, Folks. Fifteen hundred American boys on it and 48 P-40's. That is that pursuit plane. And we were riding a 21-knot ship.

After leaving San Francisco, of course, it was a military secret where we were going, but if you think you can fool fifteen hundred American boys—and when I say "American boys" I make that applicable to America—you are just mistaken, because three to three and a half days out of San Francisco the boys were laying their bets, seven to five, that we would pass south of Pitcairn Island, which, as you know, is south of the Equator. But I want to tell you we passed so far south of it that we didn't see it. And we sailed without an escort. We were a 21-knot ship and felt that we could dodge the most of them.

We had a forty-eight hour stay in Auckland, New Zealand. That is the first point of land we looked at after leaving the Golden Gate. We sailed to 48 degrees south of the equator and then due west and if you do that perfectly you will go right into the harbour of Auckland. I tell you it was so rough we couldn't even take the pilot on; his boat couldn't get close enough to us. That is a rough harbour to enter, but after you get in it is just as peaceful as a lake.

It is a beautiful place, and the homes in Auckland are beautiful. They were all painted up. They had beautiful lawns and showed that people really lived there. And the people were so kind to the boys for the time that we were there. You know, you can take a bunch of lads—they may be sailing into the entrance of hell, or what-have-you, but if they have got an hour or two they are always up to fun and having a good time. They don't look over the hill to see what is on the other side.

You know, looking ahead is not a good plan for the young fellow who is going to the Front. So the people of Auckland, allowed the boys in uniform to ride the trams or trolleys without charge. They gave them cigarettes and candy. They had a band concert and opened up all the dance halls and the girls were certainly there to dance with the boys and give them a good time. That may have been the last good time for a lot of those boys. From there we went to Brisbane and the people there were very kind to us, too.

We unloaded those P-40's on January 18, 1942. Now, you can figure out how long it took to get them there—from December 17, 1941 until January 17, 1942. That will explain why we were so slow in some of our work out there, and it will show you why we were retreating. And, listen, don't fool yourselves. Retreat is exactly what we did.

From there we sailed behind the Great Barrier reef, and I will never forget passing a ship one night. It looked like a big blaze on the horizon but as it came by it turned out to be an Australian hospital ship. It was lit up like a sore thumb, and all we could say was, "What fools they are!" Now, that is what we said. Do you get that? "What fools they are!" And it afterward proved true—that ship was bombed. Nobody could mistake what it was, with the great big red cross and all of its lights burning. But I think it would have been a whole lot better to have put out the lights and without them I believe it would have gotten through. They were dealing with an enemy at that time that might or might not observe some of the rules that we do.

Now, I don't say that was backed up by the Japanese Government because when our flyers go out we are not entirely responsible in a way for what they do. But, anyhow, that ship was finally sunk.

From there we went to Cookstown, stopped for about two hours, and the Captain of the ship and the Colonel got off for further orders. Outside we picked up the U.S.S. "Houston", two destroyers and another ship, also bearing ammunition, and we sailed into Soerabaja, Java, arriving there on January 24th. The Admiral had come down from the Philippines with his fleet—the remainder of it—and the Army Commander, with the remainder of his 19th Bomber Crew, and your British ack-ack units and aircraft units who had gone to the succour of Singapore but got there too late. Singapore had fallen, and they had come to Java. They first went to Batavia and then to Bandoena on the western part of Java, where they entrained for Soerabaja, the great Dutch naval base. There was a wreck on that railway on the way down and the majority of their officers were killed.

I want you to know the truth. I heard the inside story, and the Dutch were all of the opinion that it was simply a wreck and not sabotage. I think they were honest about it. But still the boys in the British ack-ack unit said, "Isn't it horrible? We have come all the way from England to here and within the last 150 miles something happens to one of the train coaches, we have a wreck and most of our officers are killed."

They went to Soerabaja, but things got hot there—the Japanese were coming in at between 23,000 and 30,000 feet and dropping their eggs on us. Now, in those days, Gentlemen, we didn't have any guns that could actually shoot up to them. You can take a .22 pistol and go out and try to kill ducks going over—you might kill one in three or four years. You see what a fat chance we had to hit any of their planes. All they had to do was sail around up there and drop their eggs at us.

I want you to remember this: You can have all of the Army, you can have all of the Navy, you can have all of the Marine Corps—the C.B.'s, God bless them—and all the submarine service, and your seamen, but, unless you have an air umbrella up there, those services, every last one, are going to have to get in a hole or run under cover of darkness, and don't kid yourselves. So we have to maintain supremacy of the air if we expect to get anywhere with our surface units. Lack of it was what ran us out of Java, and out of the Philippines. The Dumb Doras of Japs just didn't have sense enough to go into Darwin and Freemantle and Perth in West Australia. They could have had them like a snap but they didn't have the brains. You don't realize how close that call might have been. We were running when I got to Australia. I am not joking with you about it. The people of Perth and Freemantle had moved to the hills. That is a fact and I don't blame them.

When I went into Freemantle on Friday, the 13th of March, 1942, one cruiser and two transports of soldiers could have come in and taken the whole of West Australia in no time. We had nothing there. As you will recall, the troops of Australia were in Egypt.

I was in Freemantle when the Queen Mary came in and brought the first contingent back. They were a happy lot of boys, and I am telling you they really took Freemantle and Perth. That was their home and their town. They really took the place—so much so that the next ship to come in went around to Melbourne and they anchored it out in the high sea and only took two hundred troops off at a time and spread them out.

They were a grand bunch of boys. They are just like our Western boys. One of the greatest troubles that came up there was the way the American boys were running off with the Aussie girls. I will never forget—the Admiral put out an order that you couldn't marry an Aussie girl under fifteen days. That order didn't amount to a row of beans. Listen: when the Padre said, "I will make you one—the two of you," there was nothing the Admiral or anybody else could say about it. So those boys really got the Aussie girls. And I want to say this frankly to you. I am proud of those girls and I think it will do the United States a lot of good to get some of that blood from over there.

I could tell you a great deal about the bombing of the ships on the way back from Java but you have seen and heard about it. I want to eliminate some of that because I see my time is getting short and I do want to tell you about some of the other things.

After we had been machine-gunned, the majority of the people left the ship at Patjitan. The next day out, all of a sudden the ship commenced going around in circles. If you ever saw a bunch of jittery people, that crowd was. The Captain didn't know what was the matter from the bridge, the engineer didn't know what was the matter in the engine room. Naturally, we all thought they were trying to dodge a tin fish. The truth was that the electric telegraph had broken and there was no response from the engine-room, and the break threw the rudder at a 45 degree port angle. We were just going around in a circle, not very fast—just 5.5 knots, but that seemed mighty fast to us. Everybody was trying to see what was up. Nobody could see a submarine, nobody could see an aeroplane. We soon found out what was wrong. From there that ship was steered by hand into Freemantle. They repaired the engine, but were a little afraid to use it except in an emergency. There was always an officer standing on the bridge and the word was passed back to the bridge to those towing, just how many points and which way to move the wheel.

One morning three days out of Freemantle, we saw an aeroplane on the horizon. My Commanding Officer, so to speak—he was my superior officer, although he was still my patient—and a graduate of Annapolis—was sitting aft. He had been badly shell-shocked and still was. Everybody else was running hither and yon on the ship, trying to make out what this aeroplane was but the Commander had that instinct drilled into him in his days in Annapolis and he was sitting there, perfectly quiet. I said, "Bill, what do you think of that?" He said, "That is a friendly ship. That is a PWY." I said, "Yes, you are the only one who recognizes it as a PWY—what do you think about it?"

He said, "It's a friendly ship—quit worrying about it." I said, "How do you figure it is a friendly ship? Everybody else doesn't figure that way about it. They think it is serious."

That was my one horror, that the bombers would come over and drop bombs on that ship. I never worried about being killed. The only thought that came up in my mind was how in the world would I take care of all the sick and wounded on the ship. That was one thing that worried me sick. I didn't worry about a tin fish. If we were hit all we would do would be take to the "briny" in a life preserver, get a stick and float it out. That didn't worry me in the least.

The Commander said to me, "Didn't you see him dip to the right, staying well away from the ship, and then circling us?" Well, he was right.

When we were a few days out the ship had no map of the West Coast of Australia, but one young fellow, a Chicago news correspondent, had a book of Rand-McNally's maps. Australia is a little country, about this big on the map, but the Commander had two Dutch naval officers enlarge the map on white paper and we sailed by it. The Captain had said, "The Lord permitting, and if we have no untoward trouble, we should make the lights at

Freemantle at 4.30 on Friday, the 13th of March." Listen, I was up all night long and at 4.20 a.m. I picked up those lights. So did everybody else, and we kidded him for bringing us in ten minutes ahead of time.

But two days out of Freemantle one morning there was a terrible commotion on the deck. I guess it must have wakened me up because I had gone into my little ten o'clock siesta—I didn't do much sleeping at night. As a matter of fact I didn't do much but cat napping the whole way—I got up, opened my eyes, and everybody was running hither and yon. A Dutchman was trying to look through a long glass. I felt like saying, "Throw that thing away—you can't hold it still enough to look through it." He was looking at a submarine. Sure enough, it was a submarine.

My Commander was sitting perfectly quiet as before. Naturally, he was my barometer, and I said, "Bill, what do you think of it? Is it a submarine?"

He said, "Sure it is. Can't you see it?" Every now and then in the waves you could see it on the horizon. "You don't have to worry about it, Doctor. There is no need for worry in the least. That is a friendly submarine."

"Alright, Bill, that is alright to tell me it is friendly. I want to know why." We were so close to Freemantle I had hopes of getting ashore with those boys.

He replied, "Well, that submarine can make ten to twelve—we can't make over five and a half to six knots. We could have been sunk long ago."

"I had been watching that ship for half or three-quarters of an hour. When we anchored in the river the submarine went by with the Dutch flag up, and I said, "Why in God's world didn't they put the flag up out there when we could see it?"

Now, that is the way you feel about some of those things. I could carry on and talk to you about many other things, but I do want to tell you this. Somebody asked me to tell you how I got the news that the President talked about me.

In Perth we had the show home of the town and I am not kidding you. I really mean it—we had the show home. It was on Birdwell Parade, overlooking the river. The people living in it took to the country and they were tickled to death to rent it to the Navy. We used to have parties there, and dances; we also had dinners and we would invite the people in. One night we had a party there—that was after I had been awarded the Cross—and among other people there was one young lady whose name I will have to give you—it was Grace. I won't give you her telephone number. She worked at the general storehouse.

We had had a nice party that night, but we always had a rule that we were to break up between 12.30 and 1 o'clock, because we had to work the next day. My first trip in the morning from the home was to the Hollywood Hospital and my next was the medical storehouse. I had the only naval storehouse in Australia at that time for the United States Navy.

I got over to Hollywood Hospital this morning and one of my Corps men said, "Did you hear the President talk about you last night?" I said, "You tie that outside—forget it. I don't want to hear any more about it." I thought they were throwing corks at me, if you understand that expression.

At the medical storehouse my Chief said to me, "Doctor, did you hear the President talk about you last night?" I said, "Listen, when I was a young boy George Washington used to talk about me. Don't let me hear any more about it."

I am telling you the truth of just how it occurred.

I got to the general storehouse. It was as wide as this room and about twice as long. Right down the center was an aisle and it was about twelve feet wide on each side. They had fencing all the way up to the ceiling and inside were the stores and the different people working. There were about 250 people in there and as I started down the aisle, I noticed them all looking at me and about that time from the back here came Grace, just running. I will never forget—she had her arms behind her like this, and she was running up the aisle, and she put her arms around me and squeezed me and she said, "Doctor, did you hear the President talk about you?"

I said, "Listen, Grace, if that is true, show me the paper", and she pulled out the *Perth Gazette*. Gentlemen, I have still got it today. That is the way I got the news that the President talked about me.

Now, Mrs. Wassell was down in Arkansas, on the White River, and some of her friends heard the President talking about this Doctor Wassell, and they came over to see her. They finally got the rebroadcast—it was about eleven o'clock at night—and that is the way she heard it.

Now, as to receiving the Cross. You know, Men, it was a crucial moment on that ship when I put it up to the boys whether or not they would go ashore or stay with the ship, and I said, "Fellows, the majority voices rules in what we do here."

Now, between 70 and 80 per cent of the people had left the ship at Patjitan after it had been machine-gunned. But those boys without any hesitation all said, "Stick with the ship, Doc." I want to say that again to you. They said, "Stick with the ship, Doc."

I went back up on the bridge to see the Captain who was with the Dutch officers. They were sitting there, pretty downcast, their heads hanging down. I said, "Captain, I want to report to you that the American Navy boys want to stick with the ship and take a chance."

Gentlemen, I tell you it built the morale of the Dutch officers up—I don't care what you say—because, after 70 or 80 per cent of the people had left the ship, those wounded boys—four of them couldn't walk—had the guts to stick with the ship. I was given a Navy Cross for bringing those boys out, but I want to tell you that Navy Cross belongs to those boys and I will wear it for them.

I want to say how happy I have been to be here in Canada and to be with you people. I just want to add what I have said before: Thank God, we haven't got any barbed wire between us. I think that is one of the grandest things in the world, and don't let us ever have any barriers between us! Never!

"WITH THE CANADIANS IN NORMANDY"

An Address By

MATTHEW HALTON

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Tuesday, November 28, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: Our guest speaker today is a Canadian, born in Pincher Creek, Alberta, educated at Calgary Normal School and the University of Alberta, later taking a post-graduate course in the University of London and the London School of Economics. This might be described simply as the preparatory stage of his career. The second stage began in 1931 as a reporter with the Toronto *Daily Star*. In 1933, he was reporting in Russia, Germany, and other European centres. For the succeeding ten years, he has been in many countries in Europe, Africa and India. I think the second stage of his career ended this year with the publication of his book—*"Ten Years to Alamein"*. This book contains over three hundred pages of the most vivid comment and description of political and battle scenes. His first book will, I am sure, create for him as high a place in the world of book lovers as he has achieved in the field of reporting.

Mr. Halton was with the troops on 'D' Day when the battle in Normandy opened, and, in the third stage of his career, we shall expect not only to hear his voice, but also to read his writings as he returns again in the near future to the heat of the conflict.

With these preliminary remarks then, in the style of a radio announcer, I may simply say to you, Gentlemen, you will now hear Matthew Halton, CBC War Correspondent, speaking to you from The Empire Club, in the Royal York Hotel, Toronto.

MR. MATTHEW HALTON: Gentlemen: May I first thank the Chairman for his introduction and say that I am a bit disturbed to see here at the head table Mr. Reid Forsee, of the C.B.C. The first time I ever made a radio broadcast in Canada he taught me how to do it. He said, "If you are speaking too low, I will do this (illustrating the signal). If you are speaking too loudly I will do this." I hope today he will do the latter.

I am also pleased to see at the head table Mr. Tait and Mr. Main Johnson, of the *Toronto Star*. I met Mr. Tait a few minutes ago before lunch. My expense account on the *Toronto Star* was far larger than on the C.B.C. I pretended to forget I was off the *Toronto Star* and I asked Mr. Tait if I could come in and render my expense account. He said "Okay."

To begin my talk today I would like to mention another Toronto man—that splendid red-headed war correspondent, Ralph Allen, of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. One day in Normandy the Canadian Press Club was having a baseball game and "Red" Allen was the umpire. I was sitting on the sidelines. After about the third inning the ball game was interrupted by a lot of men with strange looking instruments who came along, looking almost like curlers. I said, "What's cooking?" They said, "Get out of the way, Boys. This field is mined. We are trying to pick up the mines."

The ball game was stopped and "Red" Allen said, "Let us go on up to the war." We went up and as we went, "Red" said, "When is this war going to end?" I said, "I have been a pessimist about the war since it began in 1933, but I think this is it. I think once we have won the Battle of Normandy that will be the Battle of France, and the Battle of Germany will be nearly over." I bet him ten pounds and tomorrow I lose my ten pounds. Obviously, the war in Germany will not be over by the 30th of November.

It nearly did end. As you know in September we did land three air-borne divisions on the Continent. That was one of the boldest strokes in military history, and it very nearly did succeed. If we had only had a bridge across the river at Arnheim, there were three British armoured divisions ready to rush across the flank of Northern Germany but the Germans just managed to hold and the war did not end.

Why did they hold? They held chiefly because of education. In the last war they gave up. They began to give up in August, 1918. They gave up because the Kaiser and his people had not indoctrinated the Germans as Hitler has indoctrinated them this time, since 1933, with the ferocity of his own ideas. The Germans fought at Arnheim as I have seen them fight so often, and as the Canadians have seen them fight in Sicily, at Ortona and other places. And even today our forgotten army in Italy is fighting these young Nazi fanatics. They are fanatics because they are educated to be fanatics.

I always remember in 1933, not very long after that day in January, when I was in Berlin and saw Hitler come to power. I saw young Nazis of ten years old learn to throw hand grenades.

And that wasn't the important thing, although it was bad enough. If one wrote of those things in those days one was called a war monger and a sensationalist. "That guy is just making trouble."

And one saw worse things than that. In 1933 I got permission to go to Dachau concentration camp in Germany. I thought the Germans would have a show for me. So I didn't see much in the concentration camp until I asked the Commandant, "Why is it you have so many guards here?" A shiver of horror went down my spine when he said, "We have to inure our young men to ferocity." That was the first time I realized that the Germans were deliberately inculcating ferocity, not for fun, as Genghis Khan and other conquerors and brutes have done in history, but deliberately, as an instrument of policy.

The thing went on for many years. I won't spend much time on those few years before the war. There were people who saw what was happening. There was Winston Churchill who from the moment he began to see, started making the greatest series of warning orations since the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, and he was called a warmonger.

Then began the greatest conspiracy against genius in all British history, because he was not impressed with what everyone else was saying, "Thank God for Hitler. He is saving Europe from Communism." He had the wit and reason to see that Naziism, which these people were clutching to their frightened bosoms, was a greater menace than Communism. He was more interested in the continuing greatness of the British Empire and Christian civilization.

Anyway, the war came. The first time I ever went to war was in Spain in 1936. I saw the people of Spain, aided by these "bad" people, the Communists, fighting the Franco Dictatorship, and I saw a few young Canadians help them, not only the day they stormed the Fascist headquarters in Barcelona, but after that for two or three years. Incidentally, it just occurred to me now that yesterday I met somebody who had never heard of the MacKenzie Papineau Battalion, "The Mad Caps", the group of Canadians, some Communists, who saw that the second Great War of our century had begun in Spain on July 17, 1936.

Since the beginning of the Spanish War in 1936 I have been covering many wars. I have seen many soldiers in action—Czechoslovakians, Russians, Spanish, Finnish, Germans, British, New Zealanders, Australians, South Africans, but a year and a half ago, for the first time, I saw Canadians in action in Sicily. I had been away from my own country a number of years—thirteen years. I never came back except for holidays in the Rockies and I tended to get out of touch with men of my own country, but I saw Canadians in action and I became a better Canadian than I had ever been before.

I could talk from now until tomorrow or Christmas about Canadians in Italy, but I don't think I have time today, much as I would like, for example, to tell you about the Battle of Ortona, the first severe battle the Canadians had fought since the Great War, the battle that became almost as important as anything in Normandy, almost as important as the road from Caen to Falaise. The First Canadian Division got to Ortona.

I would like to talk about D-Day. There were those awful days of waiting in England and the three or four days of relief before the invasion, and when I said to myself, "There is going to be an assault landing. Why am I going? I don't have to. I am not an infantryman."

I was with the formation that General Keller commanded—the Third Canadian Division—in the assault landing on D-Day. I remember him talking to these troops and he said, "Gentlemen, if you want to die, when you get on shore, stay on the beaches. If you want to live get off the beaches. "But", he said, "at the risk of sounding like a 'blood and guts' General, I want to say to you, it doesn't matter whether you live or die so long as you do this job. The important thing is this enterprise. Please remember you have an individual responsibility. Please remember, the whole fate of the invasion may depend on you. Your division may be overwhelmed. Your brigade may be overwhelmed. Your whole company may be overrun, but you must take cover in your slit trench or wherever you are."

And on the night of D-Day, one Canadian brigade—it happened to be a Western Canada brigade—had reached its objective.

On D-Day plus one, two and three—true enough it happened by an accident of war that Rommel chose this point to attack with his tactical reserves of Panzer and

Tiger tanks—the division was not overrun. The Brigade Headquarters was overrun and Regimental Headquarters were overrun and it looked for a time as if that invasion were going to fail but these men fought on. Battalions were gone, companies gone, and at such a time men by all the rules of war have the right to surrender. But these men fought on and when two German tanks came in to Headquarters, the little courtyard which was headquarters of the Regina Rifles, the Italian cook came out with a Piat mortar that he had never used before and knocked out the two of them.

Not many weeks ago in Germany when I had left the Canadians and gone to join that great fighting formation, the First American Infantry Division, the Colonel of Intelligence there gave me a document, a captured document that was a transcript of all telephone conversations between Rommel and the Chief-of-Staff at Supreme Headquarters, between D-Day and the end of July. It was a fascinating document. It began with Rommel telephoning Headquarters and saying, "Here it is, but it is not the main thing. We have to drive this thing into the sea by nightfall. It is not the main thing. In two or three days the main thing is coming in the Calais area."

By nightfall they hadn't driven the invading force into the sea. A call came from Hitler's Supreme Headquarters, "What went wrong yesterday?" Rommel saying, "I am not quite sure what went wrong. The enemy had more tanks ashore than we expected but we will do it by tonight."

He telephoned to the Corps Commanders of two of the finest German Divisions that ever fought: the First Adolph Hitler S.S. Division and the First Hitler Youth S.S. Division.

It was not driven into the sea that night. By then Hitler was having a little apoplexy and biting his carpets—if he does bite them.

This is a transcript of the telephone conversations that took place. Hitler didn't trust even his Generals and he had secretaries take down what they said on the phone. Again on the third day he asked why the thing had not succeeded, and Rommel said, "Against any other troops in the world but the Canadians we would have driven this invasion into the sea." I don't say the Canadians are the best fighting men in the world, though I would like to think so after something like that.

The fight went on from the beaches of Normandy to Caen. I would like to talk about it for a long time. I would like to talk of the Battle of Carpiquet—on the way to Caen. It was a tiny village with an airdrome. A brigade had to take the place—the North Shore, the Queen's Own of Toronto, the Chaudière. They decided they needed another brigade and they borrowed the Winnipeg Rifles, four regiments, plus a regiment of tanks. You know how they operate—one squadron of tanks with each regiment during an attack.

Again the Commanding Officer, the Brigadier, said to them before the attack: "To win the Battle of France we have got to win the Battle of Normandy. To win the Battle of Normandy we have got to take Caen. To take Caen we have got to take Carpiquet. It is imperative. Here is the order, saying there must be no failure."

This was a battle I decided to see. We war correspondents are over-glamourized people. We get credit very often—it is not our fault, it is not the fault of the people who give us the credit—for describing what someone else does, because sometimes people naturally project their admiration more into the teller of the story than the people he is telling about. But, while it is an over-glamourized profession on the whole, occasionally we go into battle.

I have found through all my experiences as a war correspondent the best way to see a battle is to get somewhere on the flank, More by accident than by design, I stumbled into a company of a Canadian Scottish regiment, who were giving covering fire and drawing enemy fire.

After being challenged by a sentry—we didn't know the pass word and it was one of those uncomfortable moments—very uncomfortable—you have to beg a man not to shoot you—I met the Company Commander, Major Crofton, of British Columbia. I said I would like to see the battle. "Splendid", he said.

It is wonderful to see the reaction of the Company when you get to the front. Away back in the army where everybody is a big operator or a big dealer, they look down on the war correspondent. When you get to the Division they are glad to see you. When you get to the Brigade they give you a drink of wine. When you get to the Regiment they give you, as they did this time at Carpiquet, a turkey dinner in a pig pen, four hundred yards from the enemy. And they offered us a drink of red wine.

In the morning the attack began. I have been going to wars, as I said, for a long time. I still don't understand war. I don't understand how men attack. They had a barrage of 450 guns, for the initial stages—a two battalion attack. When the smoke cleared I could see the men coming through on one of the most intensive barrages in history. It is a sight one has seen before and one will see again, I suppose, but which always fascinates—men advancing through a wheat field. Those of you who have not been to war may think of attack as charging and running. They can't do that. They have to charge through a wheat field, and carry their Sten gun or their Bren gun and hand grenades. They seem to be advancing very slowly—eight or ten men here behind a tank, and eight or nine there, and the enemy mortar fire coming down on them. A mortar shell falls on your tank, a cloud of smoke and dirt, and you are watching from the pig pen at the end of the Carpiquet airdrome.

The smoke clears. You see two or three going to their knees and falling over. You see the rest going on and you wonder how they can do it. Two of them come to a slit trench where there is one German. These men threw two hand grenades and the German caught them in his hand and threw them back. The third hand grenade blew the German's right arm off. He caught the fourth and fifth in his left hand and threw them back, and the sixth killed him.

That is the kind of opposition they were up against as they fought their way through the wheat field, the Chaudière and the North Shore—English-speaking and French-speaking.

One would have no realization in that pig-pen at Carpiquet that Canada is now facing the most serious political crisis since Confederation began. One would have thought that the English-speaking Canadians and the French-speaking Canadians were going almost hand in hand across that wheat field.

I am not going into the political crisis at all just now. One thing I would say. No matter what one may think, no matter what one's opinions about French Canada, no matter what one's opinions about this worst political crisis since 1867—that is, in 77 years—whatever the rights or wrongs about the conscription situation, nobody can say that the French Canadians are taking their present attitude because of lack of guts or physical courage on the battle field.

And so these men, these Canadians, against what one British General called the worst odds they had ever met in Normandy until that date, took Carpiquet. the Chaudière and the North Shore taking the north hangars of the village and the Queen's Own of Toronto taking the south hangars. The control buildings were taken and as a result of that battle that day, with atrocious losses, we got Caen.

I would like to digress a moment to say something about the French. Many Canadian, British and American soldiers went to Normandy believing what so many of us used to say, "You can't expect much from the French," "The French had fallen in 1940" and "The French were rotten at the core."

This statement was not only an insult to France but an affront to fact. France was not rotten at the core. France was rotten where we were rotten—at the top.

You would be astonished at the number of Canadian soldiers who, if you asked them, "Do you believe France is decadent?" would tell you about stories about Frenchmen saving their lives. From D-Day on, the men and women of the French Maquis were going through the German lines to our lines to give information. The French peasants of Normandy would come out of their houses over their own dead to cheer us. We did expect we would be met with coldness, if not with hostility. In the town of Caen we had killed 5,000 and wounded 17,000 with our bombs. We got into Caen, on the morning of July 9th, the Seaforth Highlanders, the Regina Rifles, the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders. The town was completely ruined. Every street I crawled through was just a ruin. Men had to climb over rubble. Then I and my colleague of the C.B.C. came to two or three streets which were not completely destroyed. We came to a tiny square, half the size of this room, in which was the famous church, the "Abbey of Men", in which William the Conqueror built his own tomb. We went into this church and I and my colleague were the first Allied men in uniform the people had seen.

Two thousand men, women and children had taken refuge there since D-Day from the fury of the attack. Several times we had loosed a thousand bombers on this town. There was the fury of constant fighting and shelling every day. These two thousand men, women and children were in this church—as clean as this room. They dressed their wounded on the tomb of William the Conqueror. The babies were born at the foot of the sanctuary. Now, when they saw us, they came out in this little square, amid their own dead and wounded, with mortar fire falling on the square and the church, and street fighting all around, they came out to sing the Marseillaise and raise a flag on a lamp post and cheer.

Seeing that, and other such things elsewhere in France, you begin to understand what freedom means.

From Caen the battle goes on to Falaise—the road from Caen to Falaise. The Canadians and the British had the hard job of handling six out of eight crack armoured and panzer divisions, so the Allies on the right could make the end run into Brittany. It was a tough battle. You get up two regiments every day and find nothing much left of them. Nevertheless they fought on, beyond human endurance, to Falaise, where the escape gap was closed and where Major Dave Currie and his men outnumbered by fifteen to one, as the citation tells, fought for three days and three nights without sleep to close the escape gap.

And also, I would like to mention something about the British troops. As you know the British troops are seldom given enough credit. The British say the Canadians are wonderful, the Americans are wonderful, the New Zealanders are wonderful. They never say much about themselves.

One of the greatest stories of the Battle of France is that of the British Thirieth Corps. I got into Brussels with an armoured regiment of the Thirtieth Corps and met General Horrocks, whom I had first seen in the desert. He said, "We were tired, exhausted, and had lost all our young men. The enemy was about to break but he wasn't quite broken. I was doubtful how we could make him break before we began to break."

He added, "Fortunately, I had 550 guns at the end of my wireless mast and six squadrons of Typhoons, and every time there was the slightest resistance we brought them all to bear. Then the enemy broke and we crossed the Seine."

Then he said, "We had to get from the Seine to the Somme, and get the bridge over the Somme at Amiens before the enemy destroyed them. It was a difficult undertaking. I had to move an armoured division by night. It is not an easy thing to do. But I smelled the air. Sometimes when a General smells the air it doesn't smell right. This time it smelled right."

"I went up to Philip Roberts, Commanding the Eleventh Armoured Division and I said exactly what I said in Tunisia, where I sent an armoured division through an arm of the sea to cut off the Germans, 'It is moonlight tonight, Philip'."

That night the slow British did forty-three miles in a night, including two battles, to take the bridges of Amiens.

General McNaughton told me in 1940 that a division could move five miles in a day in the last war. In this war they are able to move twenty miles in a day. That night the British did forty-three miles and the next night an entire corps, and a corps has a certain number of divisions, did sixty-three miles in a day.

So we got to Germany and it was very interesting travelling along with one of the armoured regiments to go through the battle-fields of the old war. There was Vimy. In the old war the British Empire lost over a million dead and the French lost one million, three hundred thousand dead, and now we went through the entire depth of this area in an hour. It was an astonishing thing to pass the memorial of Vimy Ridge and go through that area in an hour and so on to Brussels and to Arnheim, where we nearly won the war.

Then one day I left the British and the Canadian armies to go down to the Americans because I wanted to get back into Germany. The last time I had been in Germany was on October 1st, 1938, when I went into Czechoslovakia with the First German Army. I was speechless with shame because until then there had been a chance that the forces of sanity in the world might decide to impose the law. After that it was sure that what Spengler called the Second Great War of our time was coming.

So it was very interesting to me to go into Germany again in September with the American First Armoured Division and to see these young Germans, to talk to German civilians.

It was wonderful at first, not that I am a revengeful person, to see our Typhoons and artillery destroying not French towns or Belgian towns or Dutch towns, but destroying German towns, because it was the first time since the Napoleonic War that war has actually come to Germany in a big way.

Then to talk to the civilians. I remember talking to a young girl of sixteen. I asked her why she hadn't got away, because there had been a proclamation instructing all Germans to leave. I said, "Do you think Germany is going to lose the war now?"

"No, of course not. Hitler has secret weapons that will paralyze mankind. Anyway, if we do lose the war it will be a crime against mankind, a crime against the world."

There were the young Germans of the S.S. Paratroop Division who fought so well at Ortona, who are fighting so well today. How do they do it? Well, they do it, first because they are Germans, who are great fighting people. They do it, secondly, because it is a policed state and they have got to fight when they are told. They do it chiefly because they are educated to do it from childhood. They do it because they have been suckled on ferocity. They do it because in 1933 they were taught as children of eight and ten to throw hand grenades and die for their country.

And the point is you could do that with any children. One of the hardest problems facing the world today, is what we are going to do with Germany. What are we going to do with these young people? We have got to punish them and we have got to police them. These people must be made to know what war is. They must be made to suffer. But that is only the beginning. Revenge settles no problems, unless you want to exterminate them, and there are people who say we must kill off all the Germans or sterilize them. They are the same people, in my experience, who used to say: "Thank God for the Germans. They are saving Europe from Communism."

Well, Gentlemen, there aren't enough machine guns or sterilizing instruments to kill off all the Germans or sterilize them. To coin a public speaker's phrase, "I yield to no one in my hatred of them." but they are a great people. The world needs them. Europe needs them. And after we punish them, and I really believe they should be dealt with severely, and after we police them for fifty years, what are we going to do then?

You have got to educate them. You have got to do what Hitler did—inculcate our ideas—if we get a chance. Perhaps we won't have a chance. Perhaps Russia will settle this matter for them, but if we have any handling of them we have got to educate them.

That is the largest problem in the world today. The next biggest problem is how are we going to educate ourselves. And I rush toward my close. How are we going to educate ourselves?

It became obvious before 1933 that the world had to face another war unless we inaugurated a reign of law. It seems to me, Gentlemen, just as you could see plainly in 1933—you didn't have to be a seer or a prophet, you could just add up the facts, so you can see now, that the Second Great War was only the second great war of our century unless somehow we inaugurate a reign of law.

How can we do it? Perhaps Russia and Britain and the United States won't get along together. How then are we going to inaugurate a reign of law? People to this day I see, reading the papers, saying the world needs good will. The reason you can walk down the streets of Toronto tonight in safety is not because there is good will in Toronto. It is because there is a police force that will thrash the living daylights out of anybody who breaks the law.

In my opinion we are too late for good will. The standards of international, scientific and technical and political development have outrun the standards of international good will.

It reminds me of being at Geneva once and of a famous statesman asking me to come down to his room to hear the speech he was going to read to the League of Nations the next day. It was in 1937, when the world was at the cross-roads, and he read his speech and it was all about the leading nations not being effective because there was no good will in the world. He was a famous statesman and I was only a newspaper correspondent, but I had to say, "Sir, surely if the world were overflowing with good will you wouldn't need a League of Nations."

It is the same now. We have got to have not only a League of Nations but an international police force.

I know this is an old phrase, a hackneyed and clichèd phrase. I am afraid we are not going to get it. I have become rather pessimistic. In the field with an army I don't get all the news and I haven't had time to read all the reports about the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. It seems to me it has not gone so far as the last League of Nations. We won't have peace in the world if we wait for agreement between America, Britain and Russia. No matter how we want to get a League, things still point to a clash in the future. I can see it now.

I fear and forecast that within five years you will be able to tell whether or not we are going to have another war. Look at the field of conflict. Look at China. The conflict might be over China and it might be fought in Canada. It is hard to tell, but it is certainly coming unless we do the most difficult thing on earth and that is somehow to agree to abrogate some degree of national sovereignty.

There is the problem. How can we reconcile national sovereignty with a super state? In my opinion we certainly won't have peace in the world unless we have a super state, unless we can say in advance, as I remember Titulescu, that great Rumanian, that great European, saying to me in 1936, "We shall have peace in the world when those who want it say in advance that they will go to war." That is what we have got to do now.

I leave with you this infinitely difficult problem. Probably I should not have mentioned it because I haven't time to talk about it and express my own perhaps callow and incomplete views on the matter. But we will not have lasting peace unless we resolve this question, this dilemma, of how to reconcile a diminution of national sovereignty with a super state and an international police force.

"POSTWAR TORONTO"

An Address By

MAJOR G. FAY DAVIES

Chairman, Toronto Reconstruction Council

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, November 30, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: Gentlemen: I am of the opinion that one of the unexpected by-products of the war will be a much greater interest on the part of business men generally in the government of our country, whether it be Municipal, Provincial or Dominion.

A great many business leaders have made worthwhile contributions to many different Government war activities and controls. Our guest speaker to-day, Major G. Fay Davies, is a business man, the managing-director of the National Life Assurance Company. He is taking time off from his business to give leadership to other interests of his fellow citizens. The success which he has achieved is shown by the fact that he is president of the Dominion Command of the Canadian Corps Association.

Major Davies comes to us to-day in still another one of the activities in which he is showing leadership quite apart from his own business. This is as Chairman of the Toronto Reconstruction Council. The Council is a non-profit, fact-finding organization, specially charged with providing our civic administration with information and advice upon which sound policies of progress may be made.

I am pleased, therefore, to present to you a Toronto citizen, Major G. Fay Davies, who will address us on the topic "Post War Toronto".

Major G. Fay Davies: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

Will there be a job for me after the war?

How about my business when the war is over?

Will I be able to find a place to live?

Will postwar rents go up or down?

Who will my customers be when I stop making war goods?

These and many other questions tell us what the citizens of Toronto are, and have been, thinking. In an attempt, perhaps, to answer these questions, the City of Toronto appointed the Toronto Reconstruction Council. This Council is made up of Toronto citizens—95 of them—representing 65 organizations and its purpose will be apparent when I quote the terms of reference: "To examine into and report on (a) the position, powers, duties and responsibilities which it is considered that the municipality should have in the postwar era; (b) the plans and policies which it is recommended should be adopted by the municipality so that in co-operation with the Federal and Provincial Government and with trade, industry and labour, provision may be made for employment and social security."

Our first job was to find a basis for our operations and, on August 27th, 1943, an organization or steering committee was appointed.

In the early stages, T. H. Bartley, general manager of the Toronto Industrial Commission, was our executive secretary and studied the problem of how best the organization might function. We studied a similar organization in Montreal which is called the Greater Montreal Economic Council. Mr. Bartley presented an outline based on his study of the Committee on Economic Development in the U.S.A. and based, as well, on his visit to neighboring cities, many of which were located in the U.S. The organization committee finally evolved the present organization set-up on November 5th, 1943, and by By-law passed on December 14, 1943, the Toronto Reconstruction Council took permanent form.

There are nine committees in our Council and the chairman of each of these committees along with the

Vice-Chairman and Chairman of the Council itself together make up the Executive Committee. Each Committee is charged with the study of a particular phase of our work.

One of our principal considerations was the size of the postwar employment problem. A study to determine this fact was our earliest task.

It became apparent that it would be necessary to ascertain the number of people who would be seeking employment in Canada's national picture if Toronto's postwar employment situation was to be accurately surveyed. In this study we received very helpful assistance from the Department of Labour in Ottawa and on May 4th, 1944, our first national employment estimate was produced. This was subsequently revised on July 24th, 1944, in the light of additional data. Several factors were taken into account in the production of this estimate. First, the estimated increase in total Canadian population from 1939 to 1948. Second, the number of total population which is age 14 and over and the percentage of this population which is or will be gainfully employed. Included also was the trend in the percentage in the total number of this employable group that is male or female. It was indicated that these trends have a steady inclination which does not vary materially on a long term basis irrespective of intervening events such as periods of war employment.

The total number of gainfully employed persons in the national picture was estimated to be four million six hundred and eighty thousand at a time assumed to be two or three years after the cessation of hostilities, or for our purposes, 1948. This total constitutes 50.4% of the total population of 14 years of age and over, compared with three million seven hundred and thirty thousand persons gainfully employed in 1939 with a percentage of 44.9. This estimate of gainfully employed persons has been broken down into non-agricultural and agricultural occupations and includes students, farm women and an estimate of unemployed together with an estimate of those in the armed forces. From a national viewpoint these figures are interesting because they point out a percentage increase of 27.8% in the total number of workers from 1939 to 1948. I think you will find it interesting to note that a study made by two members of the Division of Research and Statistics of the Federal Reserve System in the United States indicated that the comparable increase in workers in the United States during a similar period was 26.08%. In each instance an allowable percentage of unemployed was assumed.

At this point you may readily ask—Why the increase? This is due to a number of factors. First, the general increase in Canada's population. Second, the increase in the total population which is seeking employment. This trend is steadily increasing. Further, as a result of technological unemployment in agriculture, an increase of "pile-up" in industrial employment has resulted. Other subsidiary factors have contributed, such as hidden unemployment on the farm during pre-war years which has now been shifted into industrial employment.

On October 1st, 1944, Dr. Leonard Marsh and Dr. Firestone prepared a pamphlet for Canada's Wartime Information Board which gave the number of jobs which would be required in postwar. Their estimate is 4,700,000. These figures do not check quite as closely as the 4,680,000 in our estimate might lead you to believe. There was some difference between the number assumed to be in the armed forces in each instance but, on the whole, our estimate checked very closely and it can be taken for granted that in postwar days there will be an increase over 1939 of approximately 25% in the number of people seeking employment and, of the whole of Canada's non-agricultural employed group, approximately 10% will be located in the Greater Toronto area. By the Greater Toronto area we mean the City of Toronto proper surrounded by the adjacent municipalities which are largely urban. Thus, if Canada is to have a postwar employment or unemployment problem, about 10% of that problem will exist in the Greater Toronto area.

So much for the over-all picture.

It now seemed necessary to continue our studies within our local area, and we are indebted to the Dominion Department of Labour for help in this connection. Employees in industry in Toronto were broken down into twenty-six major industrial classifications and these in turn were classified three ways:

(1) Those wholly engaged on war production.
(2) Those partly on war production.
(3) Those wholly in civilian production.

The numbers were 28,857, 38,047 and 267,782 in each classification with a total of 334,686. By adding up the wholly and partly convertible group, we see that we have a total of about 66,000 workers or about one in five who will likely be required to change their occupation after the cessation of hostilities. Now it seemed advisable to go a step further and to test worker opinion. For this purpose we enlisted the help of the Canadian Institute of Public opinion or Gallup Poll and we are indebted to them for their whole-hearted co-operation and support. Their survey of worker opinion appears to us to be an important document, which should be of great interest to every employer or prospective employer of postwar labour. For our purposes we wanted to secure information with respect to four groups:

(1) Those who are planning to leave the Toronto area after the cessation of hostilities.

(2) Boys and girls under 20 now at work who are planning to return to school.

(3) Employees over 55 years of age who wish to retire.

(4) Married or single women who intend to withdraw from industry after the cessation of hostilities.

I might add that the last three classifications excluded those who intend to leave the area so there was no overlapping of percentages.

First, we found that 17% of the workers now in the

Toronto area were not here when the war began. Of this group, about one-third intend to leave when the war is over. Only one in five of the boys under 20 intend to quit work and return to school. One in six of employed men over age 55 expect to retire. I may add that the age group over 55 was chosen since the data from which our statistics were gathered was primarily used for unemployment insurance purposes.

So far, our withdrawals from the employment stream are negligible, amounting to some 26,000 out of an employed total of 334,000.

Now we come to the married women. 48% of the employed married women expect or hope to withdraw from employment and devote themselves to housekeeping when the war is over. The percentage of single women was 5. This difference in percentage, we can assume, represents the difference between expectation and realization! The total number involved in this withdrawal group were approximately 53,000 out of a total of 334,000. In other words, approximately one out of six employed people expect to withdraw from employment when the war is over and approximately one out of five expects to change his or her job.

So much for these estimates.

We must not fail to realize that over 110,000 enlistments have occurred in the Toronto district and about 90,000 or more of these have occurred in the Greater Toronto area. It can safely be assumed from our estimates that 50,000 to 60,000 jobs will have to be found for these members of the armed forces when they return to civil life. This group equals almost exactly the number who expected to withdraw and thus, stated simply, our postwar employment task is to find jobs for as many people in postwar as are now employed. Not necessarily the same jobs nor in the same place nor at the same pay but the same number of jobs at fair wages under decent working conditions. The task is a tremendous one. May I point out that our study was purely objective. We did not aim to arrive at any given conclusion and we did not know what our conclusion was going to be until it was produced.

May I say also that we have made every attempt to check our figures with other available data, both official and unofficial, and we have not found any figures which would serve to disprove ours and, on the contrary, all comparable data, which we have found, has served to substantiate our belief that our conclusions are substantially correct.

Complete data with respect to these studies is contained in our Interim Report No. 4 which was submitted on June 1st, 1944, and a revised man-power estimate will be included in our December report of this year.

So much for the extent of the unemployment problems that we are trying to solve.

Now I think we might consider briefly the work of the various committees and we will commence with the Powers and Duties Committee, but before doing so I would like to indicate our method of arriving at our conclusions and reports. It became evident quite soon in our deliberations that the subject matter of our study was so comprehensive and, indeed, would require the detailed analysis of so many different types of talent and require so many kinds of special knowledge, together with the application of so many different types of expert assistance, that it would be impossible for all members of the Council to study all the subjects under review. Consequently, our work was divided and allotted to committees. In order that a well-rounded viewpoint would be obtained in our reports they were all reviewed in detail by the Executive Committee. Since very few members of our Council were not serving on one or other of our committees, this plan had the effect of placing the consideration of our problems on a practical working basis.

The Powers and Duties Committee drew its task from part (a) of our terms of reference; "the position, powers, duties and responsibilities which it is considered the municipality should have in the postwar era." This is a very sweeping responsibility to place in the hands of any committee. It perhaps was intended to be an invitation to submit a minor "Rowell-Sirois" report with respect to the City's general future. Our Powers and Duties Committee is headed by Mr. E. Macaulay Dillon, K.C., who represents the Toronto Council of Service Clubs. This committee spent a considerable amount of time discussing its field of operation and finally decided to avoid the challenge offered by its wider opportunity and confine its efforts to the narrower field of "position, powers, duties and responsibilities" which might lead the City to greater postwar employment. While I think Mr. Dillon's committee had a sound, legal right to start working on a broader interpretation of its scope under its terms of reference, perhaps from a practical point of view they were wise to confine themselves to the narrower field since, if our Council can do an acceptable job of advising the City with respect to postwar employment, we shall have done a great deal indeed and the larger field of future powers, duties and responsibilities in a general sense can be left for a later time.

The specific contribution of the Powers and Duties Committee is indicated in the tax reform points in our Seven-Point programme about which you will hear later. The deliberations of this committee still continue and a further report will be made very soon.

And now a word with respect to our Research Committee. This is under the chairmanship of A. McD. McBain of the Toronto Clearing House Banks. The manpower studies previously mentioned which had to do with postwar employment were carried on under the supervision and guidance of Mr. McBain. Throughout the summer months this committee, together with our staff, undertook a rather detailed study of the City's financial situation and, as a result, a report was made to the Executive Committee this fall. After several meetings and considerable discussion, recommendations went forward to the City Council with respect to civic financial matters in our Interim Report No. 5. This will be mentioned later.

I would like to report on the activities of our Employment in Postwar Projects Committee, one of the three employment committees. The chairman of this committee is C. J. Woolsey of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. This committee held numerous meetings and in April of 1944 presented four recommendations for early implementation. These referred to the recommendation that the cost of preparing plans for postwar reconstruction by private enterprise should be charged before taxes as current expenses. It was recommended that the City Council make immediate representation to Federal authorities with respect to this matter. It was discovered also by the Employment in Postwar Projects Committee that many private plans were being held up pending the approval by the City Council of the planning principle. A recommendation went forward suggesting that this approval should be hastened in order that private enterprise should not be discouraged from making extensive postwar plans. The third recommendation of this Committee at that time referred to the passing of an appropriate zoning by-law. A further recommendation had to do with a licensing body in order that postwar construction might begin and proceed on a co-ordinated basis and that such construction, if necessary, could be spread out over a period of years. It became apparent that, due to shortage of labour and material, postwar construction might suffer from extensive bottlenecks and, if some sort of control and co-ordinated effort was not included in our planning, conflict of effort might result.

A further recommendation of this committee, which has gone forward and is included in Interim Report No. 5, is the necessity for bringing all plans for civic projects to a highly completed state of preparation in order that undue postwar delay may be avoided. No attempt was made by this committee to suggest new enterprises or to make recommendations with respect to the advisability of planning one project rather than another. It was felt that this was a primary responsibility of the elected representatives acting on the advice of the administrative heads of civic departments and it seemed that no useful purpose would be served by any attempt on our part to act in an advisory capacity in this connection.

And now a report on the activities of our Employment in Industry Committee. The purpose of this Committee was to study ways and means of encouraging and assisting private enterprise or publicly owned companies to establish individual postwar planning programmes and to advise the City Council of any action they might properly take with respect to the encouragement of such activities. This Committee held a number of meetings and considered carefully whether or not some surveys similar to the Kitchener-Waterloo survey might be undertaken and it invited numerous leading industrial leaders to confer on these matters. This committee was under the very able chairmanship of Mr. W. D. Jones, the Vice-Chairman of the Toronto Reconstruction Council who represented the Canadian Manufacturers Association on the Reconstruction Council and who devoted much of his efforts to these responsibilities.

There are several trade agencies already working on this problem, The Board of Trade, Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Canadian Exporters' Association, the National Industrial Federation and others. Each of these operate in a particular field. It was hoped that we would be able to effect some type of co-ordination between various cross-sections of industry. On the whole, I think we can say that our efforts were not too successful. In the first place, at the moment, little is known of many important factors, such as taxes, tariffs, exchange and foreign trade affecting industrial postwar planning and, consequently, it is difficult to plan or discuss industrial planning extensively on a broad basis. Moreover, many industrial concerns prefer to do their planning within their own organization and there is often little they can discuss on a general or trade association basis. One thing we did discover was that postwar planning had not reached a uniform degree of advancement with respect to various individual industries. In the course of our studies we found some industries that had done an excellent job and others had given the matter no consideration whatsoever.

Perhaps I can tell a story with respect to one company's accomplishments which, in my opinion, are excellent. This company ascertained the probable population of Canada in postwar days and it related this total population by rough estimate with pre-war national income figures and endeavoured to arrive at Canada's probable postwar national income. This answer naturally was approximate but it was an estimate. Having done so, they then related their total volume of business nationally in pre-war days as a percentage of pre-war national income and on the assumption that they would capture a proportionate volume of trade in postwar days they endeavoured to find what volume of business they might expect in the postwar period. Much to their surprise and gratification this rather rough formula indicated that they could expect a volume of business increased perhaps 40% over 1939. With this as an assumption, they began to lay plans with respect to kinds of goods they might expect to sell and this meant customer surveys and this in turn led to new designs and this in turn developed into studies of customer preference and this in turn produced analyses of new territorial divisions and sales plans and manufacturing techniques and, finally, the production of a postwar employment schedule. I need not tell you that this firm is embarked on a postwar programme which is certain to give a mental lift to anyone who reads it or studies it.

This is one side of the picture.

On the other side, we found firms that have given little or no thought to postwar planning and, in fact, had given no indication that they knew where, when or how to start. From my point of view, I think that industry must take the lead in postwar planning and I have great hope that the National Industrial Federation and other such bodies will have the greatest possible success in increasing the volume of planning within industry. In fact, I think we can say with safety, that if all industries, large and small, would bring their planning techniques and accomplishments up to the standard of the best planned companies a great deal of concern with respect to postwar employment would disappear.

A selling job needs to be done within industry with respect to the need for postwar planning and along with that belief I am not equally convinced that the Toronto Reconstruction Council is the proper agency to do it even within the City of Toronto. Our recommendation has gone forward to the City Council to the effect that the City should call together all these trade agencies and offer all of its facilities for a furtherance of their efforts but again I repeat, it seems to us that planning for industry must come from within industry itself. I think a selling job has to be done in industry so that it will plan for its own future. I might say at this point that I am committed to the gospel of private enterprise—but I believe that private enterprise must stop talking about what it is and concentrate on a method for achieving results.

Beyond a certain allowable percentage of unemployment, you cannot go without risking revolution of one sort or another. Moreover people are saying that if we can have full employment in wartime under government control, why shouldn't we have it in peacetime by the same means. For these two reasons I think private enterprise will be judged on what it is.

Our next committee was concerned with Employment in Commerce. It seemed advisable in the early stages of our work that we should investigate the possibility of the successful operation of such a committee within industry before we attempted to do a similar job within the commercial field. With this in view, we did our experimenting in industry with the results that I have already stated. In the meantime, Mr. M. T. Ellis of the Toronto Board of Trade acted as Chairman of this Commerce Committee and has attended our Executive Committee meetings quite regularly. His help and advice have been most appreciated. Specific recommendations arising out of the activities of this committee and proposals related thereto are contained in Interim Report No. 5.

Our Liaison Committee under the Chairmanship of Controller W. J. Wadsworth was charged with the responsibility of endeavouring to co-ordinate the planning efforts of our municipality with those of the adjacent municipalities. A meeting was called of the elected representatives of adjacent municipalities and some progress was made, I believe, with respect to securing some co-operative effort. It will be apparent to you that each municipality will prefer to plan its efforts separately yet, in many respects, co-ordinated effort is essential. I am not too happy about the results of our attempt to secure co-ordination and it may be that in the future more tangible results will ensue. In the meantime, it appears that most municipalities are more concerned with current and specific problems than with long-term co-ordination. It may be that the Municipal Department of the Province, or perhaps the Provincial Department of Planning and Development, will have to take the lead in securing this type of co-ordinated effort. There is room for a great deal to be done but there are a great many hurdles to overcome before any real accomplishment can be reported.

The next Committee, whose work and activities will be reported, is the Community Welfare Committee. In the original work of the Toronto Reconstruction Council Miss Jean Hall of the Y.W.C.A. was the Chairman of this Committee but increased personal duties prevented her continuing and Mrs. Kaspar Fraser assumed this responsibility. This Committee has done a good job and its recommendations are well worth reading and studying. In their deliberations, stress was laid on preventive rather than on curative measures with respect to community welfare problems. Other committees at the City Hall were already studying our civic welfare departments.

What was needed apparently was a series of recommendations with respect to Toronto's future having to do with housing, community centres, recreational facilities and this type of general community activity. It appears to me that the next ten years will see more of this type of effort brought before the public eye than has been the case in the past. While I do not think that we can claim credit for having started the movement, yet I hope that the Toronto Reconstruction Council may consider its contribution to the advancement of community centre work one of its leading accomplishments. I would suggest that you write to the Toronto Reconstruction Council for a copy of last Sunday evening's radio script if you are interested in further information on this subject.

It is easily possible that increased community activity and effort may be a predominant factor in determining our social and political trends in postwar Canada.

The next committee we have to deal with is the Rehabilitation Committee. As you know, rehabilitation is primarily a Federal responsibility. On the other hand, the Province has a part to play and, naturally, each municipality has a job to do as well as has each citizen in each municipality. The Rehabilitation Committee has had numerous meetings and has kept abreast of the development of the newest rehabilitation measures of all kinds. It has lent its weight, aided by the City Council, in securing improved benefits for discharged members of the armed forces. It has worked in closest co-operation with the Citizens' Rehabilitation Committee which is under the chairmanship of L. M. Wood. This latter committee is advisory to the Department of Veterans' Affairs. It has kept the City Council informed on all rehabilitation matters and, I believe, has aided members of the City Council and I hope will continue to aid them, to direct their efforts towards profitabe and helpful co-operative effort.

The great need with respect to rehabilitation is co-ordination of effort. If everyone tries to do the same thing in a different way, effort will be lost and energy will be dissipated. But, if co-operation ensues and co-ordination occurs, maximum benefit will result from all effort expended. Several recommendations with respect to rehabilitation have been submitted to the City Council and I think that so far as rehabilitation is concerned and the part that the City can play, matters are well in hand.

There is a point that should be mentioned. During the deliberations of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Toronto Reconstruction Council it occurred to us that there was a need for a Veterans' Small Businesses Act, a counterpart of the Veterans' Land Act. The purpose of such an Act would be to establish veterans in small businesses. Data and statistics which were obtained indicated that a large part of the total employment in any city was derived from the employees in small businesses and due to labour and material shortages, as well as the competition from highly paid war jobs, there had been a decrease in the number of small businesses in the City. A desirable feature of our postwar activities was a resumption of these small businesses together with a resultant increase in employment. Detailed plans for such a proposal were worked out and the greatest of co-operation was secured from the Canadian Credit Men's Trust Association and other bodies interested in establishing credit for new businesses. These detailed plans have been sent to the Federal authorities and are receiving the closest of study and the best of consideration. We have every hope that some such Act will be forthcoming. Your Rehabilitation Committee can take credit for having worked out the details of this plan and will see, I am sure, that it is carried forward to completion. It is our opinion that a Veterans' Small Businesses Act, planned to start veterans in small business after the war, would not only be an excellent rehabilitation measure but would lend an underlying strength and stability to the economic life of the City.

During our study of vocational training we discovered that many young people now engaged in war work will be facing a severe period of re-adjustment in postwar days. We found, in fact, that employment can have a psychological as well as an economic cause. People are unemployed when they think they are; not necessarily nor solely when they have to be. Many workers think of a postwar job in terms of the same job in the same place at the same pay. The job of converting workers to new types of work is perhaps equally as great as the job of converting industry to new types of products. How and when this is done, and who should do it, is a great unanswered question. Perhaps an extensive national plan for retraining war workers should be considered.

The remaining committee is concerned with public relations. This committee operates under the chairmanship of George Johnston of the Advertising and Sales Club. Mr. Johnston is the head of a prominent public relations firm and is well qualified to lend his advice and assistance in this important phase of our work. In the early stages of our activities, research and the study of our problem seemed to be our biggest task. To-day, the most important job on hand is to let people know what we are trying to do and to spread the gospel of postwar planning wherever it should be made known. At the moment we publish *The Reconstruction News,* a small, four page leaflet with news about the Toronto Reconstruction Council and about postwar planning activities.

If any of you would like to have a copy or would like to have your name on our mailing list, please telephone the Toronto Reconstruction Council, Waverley 4930, and it will gladly be sent to you.

In addition, we currently sponsor and operate a radio programme over Station CKEY each Sunday night at 8.30 at which time both sides of civic questions are debated to create general public interest. I shall have more to say about our Public Relations work a little later.

In the meantime, a word about reports.

Three Interim Reports were published prior to June. One had reference to the treatment of Disabled Veterans and Ex-service Women. One had reference to the Committee on Postwar Projects, which I have already mentioned, and one was concerned with the proposal for the establishment and re-establishment of veterans in small businesses. It then appeared advisable that a more comprehensive Interim Report be published prior to the Summer holidays and on June 1st, following a meeting of our Council, Interim Report No. 4 was published. This gave the result of our efforts in the form of reports by Committees, together with data with respect to the other activities of the Council in the form of Appendices. This report contained 28 recommendations and it was hoped that these would be considered prior to the summer recess. However, our hopes did not materialize and on Tuesday, October 17th, the Board of Control met with the Executive Committee and reviewed this report in detail.

At about the same time, after several prior meetings, the Executive of the Toronto Reconstruction Council reached some rather important conclusions. These were that the City could make its maximum contribution with respect to postwar activities and with respect to employment in the postwar period by carrying through a simple programme of co-ordinated effort designed to get things started right now. In consequence of this conclusion, it was decided that an Interim Report No. 5 would be submitted at an early date in order that the Board of Control and the City Council might have time to study the recommendations and take action on them before the end of the year.

Interim Report No. 5 contains a Seven-point Programme which will lead to a maximum contribution by the City to providing postwar jobs. The first step in this programme is a financial plan. We believe that the cost of general maintenenance in the City should be estimated in the future for a defined time, perhaps five years. We believe that each Department of the Corporation should prepare such a schedule. We believe that reserves should be set up for deferred maintenance. We believe that the data in the form of estimates with respect to all contemplated postwar projects should be prepared in detail. We believe that a financial schedule having regard to the aforementioned factors should be prepared by a proper Civic Department head and that the effect of such expenditures on the City's finances should be carefully studied. We believe that these steps, when completed, will enable the City to determine what it can do and cannot do to finance postwar projects. We believe that any enabling legislation necessary by the aforementioned study should be sought immediately.

We believe that the question of tax reform should be attacked immediately. We believe that any amendments to assessment schedules which have been recommended and which have had general approval should be implemented as soon as possible. We believe that plans for residential building in suitable areas within the City limits should be contemplated and planned. We believe that a programme for broadening the tax base should be undertaken.

We believe that the planning principle should be made effective by giving the Planning Board suitable powers for the regulation of city planning and we believe that an appropriate zoning By-law should be made effective immediately.

We believe that all civic postwar projects, such as a new Court House or a new Police Administration Building or a Civic Centre, should be brought to an advanced blue-print stage and complete and detailed plans should be prepared now.

We believe that housing is a matter of immediate concern. We believe that the City Council should initiate appropriate civic action that will ensure construction of all necessary housing as provided under the terms of the National Housing Act, 1944. We believe, also, that the City Council should seek public subsidies where these are necessary to provide for those who are unable to pay an economic rent. We believe that a housing survey, both for a short term and a long term period, is essential.

We believe that the City Council should instruct competent civic authorities to prepare plans for the construction, improvement and enlargement of community centres, parks, playgrounds and other recreational facilities and these should be included in the detailed projects mentioned and we believe that plans should be made to provide trained people to staff these community centres.

We believe that the City should undertake the encouragement of trade within the City so far as lies within its power. We think the City Council should undertake a programme designed to foster enlarged Federal trade agencies and we think the City Council should co-operate with the business-getting agencies already promoting postwar business to increase their scope and effectiveness. For example, the Toronto Industrial Commission, the Tourist and Convention Bureau and the Canadian National Exhibition are agencies which are, and will be, instrumental in securing increased trade in Toronto after the war. And, most important, we believe that we should have action now.

You will note that this is not a startling programme and, in fact, it is not unreasonable but we do hope to get this programme beyond the realm of contemplation into the realm of actuality. We want to get it past the news-release phase and into the blueprint stage. We do want to get action now.

In our studies we endeavoured to find a competent and sound quantitative housing survey which would uncover Toronto's housing needs next month, next year and in postwar. No such survey exists. It is urgently needed because without it fumbling and uncertainty are inevitable.

From our studies we concluded that our maximum contribution would be certain if we lived up to the duties outlined for us in our By-law and if we acted as a public relations agency to inform the public of the importance of doing these things. One of the objections that met us when we approached industry was the claim: "Well, what is the City doing about this problem?" We had no effective answer.

I think at this point it might be well to indicate the handicap under which a typical elected representative of the City is required to operate. He is elected for one year and almost immediately after his election he approaches the budget-making period. At this time, he must take the estimated revenue provided for him by the Finance Commissioner and, after consideration of the estimates of expenditure, must finish with a tax rate which will be reasonably acceptable to the taxpayers. This means cutting, slashing and generally raising hob with all the promises that he may have made just prior to election day. After the budget is fixed and the tax rate has been struck, the elected representative emerges from this experience perhaps with a shaken conscience and a red face but at least with the satisfaction that the Ratepayers Associations won't think too badly of him.

This period has barely passed when he enters the summer recess. During this time the City Council does not meet and the Board of Control, of course, is very, very careful. Few matters of a contentious nature are decided during July and August.

September then rolls round and, with another election date in the not-too far distant future, the elected representative becomes more expansive in his viewpoint. He begins listening to the eager public who want things done. He now begins bending an attentive ear to plans for the future. Of course, at this stage of the proceedings, while he is in favour of doing things, he is very, very anxious and he wants it clearly understood, that action must be put off until next year and, of course, he hopes it can be taken for granted that anything new that costs money this year is out of the question. His stock statement is that this year's Council can't bind next year's Council. He means himself, of course. At this time, the elected representative with a short election campaign at his disposal, with a necessarily limited amount of money for publicity purposes, often imagines that he is desperately in need of some spectacular campaign issue.

The business of operating the City is incredibly complicated and complex. It is, in fact, big business and as such, any alderman or member of the Board of Control who wishes thoroughly to master his job must spend hours and hours of study on the various aspects of the problems involved. Moreover, he finds that the vast majority of the public are often quite disinterested in the major problems he has been studying but, on the contrary, often show a totally unwarranted and lively interest in the minor and spectacular election incidents. Take, for example, the mayoralty campaign of 1943. As I remember it, there were three issues: "The cup of coffee episode", "The five cent fare" and "the sewage disposal plant". If there were others, I don't remember at this point what they were. The "cup of coffee" incident was an out-and-out triviality, the five-cent fare was an impossibility from the start and the sewage disposal plant was a job for the experts and, in any event, it had already been decided. While all these trivialities were being discussed publicly, there were real problems which needed to be considered. There was our postwar job problem, there was our housing problem and there was the problem of tax reform. There were, in fact, all of the problems we have outlined in our Seven-point programme. But were these made into election issues?

Frankly, a candidate for civic office is under a severe handicap at election time. While he may want to seek his election on a complete, well-rounded programme, he finds that he has neither the time nor the facilities at his disposal to enable him to do so. This state of affairs prompted the Toronto Reconstruction Council to begin a campaign to publicize our seven-point programme. It was decided that we would neither aid nor impede the election of any individual to any office. We would stress the importance of our programme in the hope that the wise and discerning candidate would find it to his advantage, first, if in office, to put our programme into effect before seeking re-election or to sponsor it as an election programme if he were not already in office.

Through the courtesy of Radio Station CKEY we were offered some radio time and our "Face the Facts" programme which is heard every Sunday night at 8.30 on Station CKEY is the practical result.

Here you will hear various speakers and candidates discussing both sides of civic questions. We play no favorites—our sole purpose is to enable you to "Face the Facts." We are not professionals, we're just amateurs. We have never done this kind of thing before. Every participant is contributing his or her time as a civic duty. Neither now nor at any time will we suggest how you ought to vote. Our purpose, purely and simply, is to provide information, both sides, on civic issues and enable you to make up your mind. So far as is possible we shall let you hear the candidates in a neutral atmosphere.

We do think, however, that the important issues facing Toronto should be brought to the front and that trivialities should be pushed to one side. If Toronto is to do its job in postwar it must do its full part to provide jobs. This will require united effort on everyone's part. The full use of the democratic system will enable you, as a citizen, to put Toronto where it ought to be. With your help, Toronto can be ahead of the field and I'm sure that it will be.

My brief acquaintance with your elected representatives tells me that they are anxious to do what you, the citizens, want them to do. Study civic problems. Listen to our CKEY programme. Give your representatives a mandate that will enable your alderman, your controllers and your Mayor to build a future that will be a credit to Toronto.

"LONDON UNDER THE ROBOT BOMB"

An Address By

WALTON COLE

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Wednesday, December 13, 1944

Mr. Conquergood: Gentlemen: The Empire Club is honored to-day to present a young man, who comes to us in his capacity as news manager of Reuters of London, the largest organization in the world for gathering and distributing the news of the world. The desire for news may be illustrated by a few lines from Charles Sprague, an American poet, who died in 1875:

"The news! our morning, noon and evening cry,
Day after day repeats it till we die.
For this the city, the critics, and the fop,
Dally the hour away in tonsor's shop;
For this the gossip takes her daily route,
And wears your threshold and your patience out;
For this we leave the parson in the lurch,
And pause to prattle on our way to church;
Even when some coffin'd friend we gather round,
We ask—"What news?"—then lay him in the ground."

Mr. Cole is a young Scotsman who has served on newspapers in Edinburgh, Falkirk, and Glasgow. At the age of 26, he joined the Press Association in London, where for two years he was chief of the night staff. From there, he went to Reuters and is now their news manager. He is in America on business for his organization.

He is to speak to us to-day on "London Under the Robot Bomb". I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. Walton Cole.

MR. WALTON COLE: Mr. President, Gentlemen: Contrasts fascinate. They certainly do me, for just a week ago I was making the first public speech of my life in that citadel of Middle-West Republican strength—the Union League Club of Chicago. Today it is The Empire Club of Toronto. And, gentlemen, I want to testify that no one could have received a more friendly and encouraging reception than I did in Chicago. Frankly, both here and Chicago I am reminded of the aspiring London business man who tried for membership of one of the most exclusive clubs. His membership was rejected. Curiously he asked a friend: "Was I badly black-balled, old boy?" The reply was terse and candid: "Old man, have you ever seen caviare?"

The Union League Club last week—the Empire Club this week! I feel in the same frame of mind as the two Irish guards who lone-handed defended a Libyan machine-gun post for three days in a holocaust of shot and shell. During a brief respite Pat turned to Mike and exclaimed: "Mike, begorra, Dev was damned right to fight for our neutrality!"

So, with deep diffidence, I present myself to your long-suffering care, being particularly mindful of the fact that I come as a man from Reuters, which is an organization that has itself met and survived much criticism.

When I was in Paris but a few weeks ago everyone was laughing at this story of Joe Goebbels. He had died and found himself by one of the strange vagaries of fate at the wrong destination. For a week he meandered in a somewhat dazed way through the Elysian heights, until one day he espied a beautiful pink cloud drifting overhead. It was adorned with an array of particularly voluptuous females and the dimly recognisable silhouettes of certain members of the Nazi hierarchy, one corpulent personality in particular being plainly distinguishable, replete with wine bottles. The little doctor shuffled over to the gate and asked St. Peter: "What is that place on the pink cloud?"

"That's Hell," was the reply. Goebbels reacted speedily "Ah!" he exclaimed, "That is where I should be. I am in heaven by mistake, and not by virtue." "Are you sure?" boomed the voice. The assurance was readily forthcoming. Soon Goebbels was fluttering to the pink cloud. But just before he made the pink part there was a dark base. A hairy hand seized him and Joe was dragged into an eerie cavern, placed on a rack, and had all the conventional tortures performed upon him by twenty fearsome devils.

In a pause twixt the pulling out of nails by tweezers and the application of blow-lamps to the tenderest parts, the little Doctor loudly protested and said, "Where's this? I'm going to Hell!"

Replied the foulest looking devil, "This *is* Hell." "It cannot be," protested Goebbels. "What's that place on the pink cloud? They told me *that* is Hell." "Oh, no," quoth the devil, "That is our propaganda service!"

Now, gentlemen, I would have much preferred to come here and let you shoot questions at me. Because while this is by no means my conception of Hell—I have yet to have the privilege of getting the first authoritative eye-witness story from that territory—nevertheless I am deeply conscious that in these times it is understandable that, no matter how innocent one is, there is a very real danger of being placed on the propaganda bandwagon.

With all the sincerity at my command I say that if I were a propagandist I would come here in that role and not masquerade as a newspaperman. The pay is better and life is less exacting!

My profession is one of the real examples of internationalism; and the pity is that the relationship, the understanding and straightshooting that exists between such a fine journalist as Gil Purcell of The Canadian Press and myself—the pity is that this is not the common pattern of Anglo-Canadian relationships.

Mr. Purcell does not cackle with me, nor I with him. I'm sure we both think there is a moral—as well as much wisdom—in the Latin American's analysis of the Canadian and British character. He summed it up this way. When an Englishman—and I want to state right now that I am a Scot just to put my independence on record—when an Englishman walks into a restaurant he looks as though he owned it. When a Canadian walks in, he looks as though he didn't give a damn who owned it.

The outlook, gentlemen, is identical. The approach is different. If everyone realised that, then much that irks and a great deal that distracts would be easily avoided.

Today it is possible for newsrooms in Canada to have a Reuter message thirty seconds after it has been transmitted from London. It can be here quicker by at least a minute than it can be delivered to a Manchester or Aberdeen newspaper office. Here you have but one example that emphasizes the absolute necessity of every one of us getting to know each other in a way we have not hitherto known. We must have association with each other for what we actually are—not what we would like to think we are. I think we have suffered from a surfeit of ostriches. The head in the sand technique has got to stop and I don't feel I am in any way unrepresentative of my contemporaries back home when I say it is going to stop.

But all this is a circumlocution around the subject on which I have been invited to speak. If I don't get to it—remember a newspaperman always takes a terrific time to reach the point, as any editor will tell you—I shall be exposed to an investigation on a charge of getting you here by false pretenses.

But my digression has only been to lead up to one important and interesting truth. It is, that in times of stress, of difficulty and of danger, all types of men are thrown into a common crucible. The breakdown is beneficial, and leads to real understanding and respect. Respect: that is the only yardstick, in my view, by which either countries or people can be measured. Sacrifice respect—and you sacrifice all.

The man you respect is never a "yes man". He is invariably a competent and efficient man. If he tells you what he is shooting at, frankly and unshamedly, you may be professoinally displeased because of what he is about to do, but, nevertheless, if you are a big man, you will admire him and, strangely enough, you will probably help him. In this connection I said to the Union League Club: "Make no mistake about my assessment of America and Americans. You are big, and you are rightly proud of a country that cannot help but make this the American Twentieth Century. But you can do more; you can make this a Twentieth Century that will bring the real blessings of mankind to the world as a whole."

"But the American who feels that his country is something like Joe Louis—only a Joe Louis who doesn't confine himself to the heavyweight class but takes on the bantamweights, the featherweights, the lightweights, the middleweights, the cruiserweights and the heavyweights—he will find inevitably that he has not only eliminated all interest from the fight, but has spoiled the matchmaking potentialities of the lightweight and what-have-you." That statement was received with cheers.

I am a newspaperman, a very young newspaperman. If I have made progress in my profession, it has been because I have tried to exercise the logic and commonsense which is popularly reputed to be an attribute of the Scots.

I feel deeply about American-British understanding. I feel even more deeply about Canadian-British understanding. I am convinced that more people like myself, from Canada, the States and Britain, have simply got to find out the other fellow's point of view, and assess things in the light of logic and common sense if we are ever to ensure the attainment of what is after all the common ideal—the well-being of our respective people.

Let no one try to hide this point because it is the highest ideal of the common citizen and we are all common citizens. The common citizen is the cornerstone of national existence. Concede this approach and motive, and you will understand that a man who advocates the high ideal in a form different from your own is not necessarily shooting right off the limb. He is someone to contact and understand, and share views with, in the certain belief that men of goodwill can always find a common meeting-point.

Canada is cast for a leadership role. She is absolutely uncompromised in any sphere. Perhaps all Canadians do not realize her full emergence. She has a mighty big foot in the camp of the great powers and also a mighty big foot in the camp of the small powers. In both camps she enjoys respect and you know as well as I that it is to Canada that many countries of contrasting geographical positions and cultures are looking today. It is to Canada too that men of vision look for an enlightened, an honest-to-goodness lead that will enable an irritable world in a turbulent transition period to get things in proper perspective. Canada need have no complexes and with the virility that is characteristically hers she must fulfill a roll that I believe Destiny intended. By simply standing her ground she cannot help but do this!

But I believe that all of us today must beware in international relations of an apparition as lethal as the doodlebug—the angel with wings. Yes, an angel with wings—but in those wings are packed cannon and machine guns, more deadly by far than the array of a flight of spitfires. These angels are shooting about, and although they have not yet had the opportunity to shoot up, there do seem to be signs of some stray tracers coming from somewhere. All of us have potential winged angels of this variety in our midst. If we resolve that the type for us is the lady who gives a straight answer to a straight question, we shall not be deluded by the spurious sentimentality of the siren.

Now I have listened to sirens, but of a different type, for over five years. I have lived in a cubbyhole in our office in Fleet Street for those five years. I am but one of those who have surrendered a normal existence to the cause that set those sirens wailing. My surrender—over five precious years of what could have been full life from twenty-seven to thirty-two. I am only a newspaperman in London, observing the creed of the craft. There are millions like me. The story must go out.

And, gentlemen, what a story of suffering and sadness it has been. In all I have had but two months out of that five years with a wife and two children. Even at that I am lucky. Canadian friends of mine have not even had the two months! I have been fortunate in being able to evacuate my family. I have been favored in that, when my house was razed to rubble by the doodlebug in August, it was empty because I was in my cubbyhole at the office and my family was evacuated.

I am the lucky Londoner, the very lucky Londoner, and my experience has been one of Easy Street compared with scores of thousands of others—so much so that I do not even think about it.

Separation, death, maiming, poverty and other scourges of this era of bloodshed have all tended to destroy the precious but perishable fabric of domestic life.

While I accept as normal and inevitable the wailing of the sirens that have served to herald the harbingers of havoc, I am determined to do what I can to stifle the wailings of those other sirens (the angels with lethal wings) I have mentioned. If we fail to do that, the silencing of the siren's wailing in London will be but temporary; and if they ever sound again the weapons that are approaching will be diabolical in their effect and staggering in their range, and what London has experienced in these five years will be the dreadful lot of other communities.

If twentieth century civilization is to be classified by happenings of this kind, then, gentlemen, the sooner we revert to the time that Adam was a boy, the better.

That the ingenuity of man and the brilliance of engineering can produce such missiles as the doodlebug, the V-2, and others of V series, makes one feel that our whole conception of things is warped and utterly irrational.

I have examined a V-1 as a specimen. I have shuddered at a V-1 as an instrument. It has made me do things which nothing else in this world could be capable of making me do. So far as the V series is concerned, I think the V-10 (which according to a German prisoner in Normandy is the weapon that will end the war) is the one I want to see in operation, and the sooner the better, because V-10, gentlemen, is a geuine war weapon. It is a long stick with a white flag nailed on the end.

But before that happens in the West and the East there is to be a cataract of suffering, and I want to tell you of the experience of the ordinary man-in-the-street—for that is all I profess to be—under this diabolical warfare that we choose to call modern.

The crowded stinking shelters of London in the first phase of the Blitz, with their pallid-faced occupants huddled on the hard concrete of the platforms, the whimpering children, the suckling babies, the squawking neurotics, and yet with the patient calm of the great majority—this was a sight that hits you where it hurts. With the dawn and the emergence to daylight came the experience to so many of finding a home that was either a repository of so much rubble or a mass of fire, or else unapproachable because of an unexploded bomb.

By guts and by absolute brilliance in descriptive writing, the scene that is London has come to you from that magnificent corps of correspondents of the Canadian Press.

It has been my privilege to work alongside them through these years. They, with their London counterparts, have carried on, have seen London aflame, seen acre upon acre of a city enveloped in a holocaust of fire, a fire which at one time threatened to engulf the heart, the nerve centre, of British newspapers—Fleet Street.

From an office window in Fleet Street one has seen aerial battles, and shuddered physically with the concussion of exploding bombs.

Outside that window was St. Bride's, the most beautiful of Sir Christopher Wren's churches; and one night it became the strangest of candles, and in the morning all that remained was a black shell. Journalists (and Canadian newspapermen were among them) went into that church when it was aflame and salvaged all the furnishings and historical manuscripts.

Newspapermen and women have on London air raid assignments rescued something more precious by far than these—human life. They have seen, as I have seen, the bombed and blasted people, the horror of disfigurement of splintered glass on the faces of young children that were a short second before fresh-complexioned and finely-moulded and beautiful. They have seen carnage in the streets when city girls, city men, the errand boy, the postman, the news vendor and the mother who was shopping lay there dead and mutilated in their death.

At one o'clock a doodlebug was unheard above that pleasant sound of city bustle and traffic—London carried on in day time in the doodlebug period, because to have stopped would have been to cut a vital artery in the common war effort.

The doodlebug has cut out, swooped down and fallen in the midst of that thoroughfare but a few hundred yards away from me.

Great buildings rocked, every pane of glass, every partition in an area of a hundred yards was shattered. In the street there was the carnage of the battlefront—and that was what London was. To so many it was their daughter, their wife, their son or their father who lay there dead or grievously maimed—or who was obliterated.

They were people whose weapon was a handbag, an umbrella, a powder compact or a pair of gloves. And upon them descended two thousand pounds of explosives. That is what happened in a centre of steel and concrete.

In a district of suburban brick-and-mortar houses (where the like of these same people would commute) there had been even more appalling devastation. These houses, these proud possessions, had been swept away as if by a scythe. Over a wide area there was just nothing. Beyond it, houses began to rear their mutilated, distorted forms again. And the housewives who moments before had been busy at their sink or their cookery were found—well, just somewhere nearby. And as you walked away from the bursting place of the bomb, the silence was superseded by the moaning of the women who had been the victims of total war.

That, gentlemen, is the sort of scene which one encountered, not as a rarity, but as a common experience;

you became steeled against it and you carried on. And you marveled that in a house that had been obliterated, in every practical sense, of occupants and furnishings, you came across the remnants of a cupboard and found that the only thing that had survived the bomb was an egg—which nature had streamlined in the most astounding form.

In the midst of this Martian mess when the tempo became so intense that in our office we had to resort to basement-working with all its strain, we were informed officially that V-1 was but the omen of things to come and that V-2, a missile of considerably greater destructive power, would soon be with us. Now as a Londoner I want to thank the Canadian newspapers and so many Canadian officials, who knew of V-2, for their restraint in not making mention of it. It is no secret now that V-2 has been falling since July—fortunately rarely in that area popularly known as southern England, but which you can identify more specifically.

I am going to give you the reason, as it was given me, for the decision not to make any mention of V-2 until the Nazis themselves referred to its existence. It appears that the German High Command with typical Teutonic thoroughness played a smart game when they fired in their first V-1 on London. It came about 3 a.m. one morning and the normal air-raid censorship regulations applied to the incident. It was thought a German bomber had been shot down as flames were seen spouting from its tail. The doodlebug, for that is what it was, landed in the east-end of London and caused considerable damage. A suburban railway line was blocked and the railway company issued to the press a list of suburban services. Piecing the information together it was possible for the Germans to know that the first doodlebug had landed—and this is off the record—somewhere between Liverpool Street station and Stratford Junction.

So from the start they had a perfect range on London, and believe me, those doodlebugs that started coming in at the rate of eighty to a hundred a day were all on the target area. With V-2 the Hun waited for three months for some hint of where they were falling or if they were reaching Britain and even today he has no accurate knowledge and no one is going to help him out. This is an example of efficiency of the Nazi Intelligence system. An example of the inaccuracy of the Nazi Information system may be pertinent here. You may recall a month ago the German radio said that Euston Station in London was destroyed by V-bombs in mid-October. Well, I left from Euston at the end of October and it was operating as efficiently as ever—and certainly had not been hit.

Now V-2 has fortunately not been more than an apparition; in my view the death drone that signalised the approach of the first bomb of the V family was the shatter of morals—because across its path to the target area it was heard by millions and no one (not even the Germans) knew when that death-belch would stop and death itself be the consequence.

I am not being horrible to you. I merely narrate everyday happenings; and I must confess that it is only when one coldly catalogues the actual facts that one fully comprehends the ordeal of the common people— the people of London.

If they are irritable, sensitive and strained, if they fall easy victims to influenza this winter, then make due allowance for that garrison garbed in lounge suits and afternoon dresses that has met the full fury of the Boche.

These Londoners feel, as do their counterparts in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg or anywhere else, that war and the cancerous growths that provoke war are the certain expendables of this world. They have a common desire with their like here—a decent existence with the right to share in some of the beneficial contributions of man's ingenuity and scientific skill, because they of all people have had their share of the debased products of that skill.

They and millions like them in Britain and elsewhere are a foundation which is one hundred percent solid, in that it represents the desire to have a real understanding that will bring a day to us soon when the standards of twentieth century civilisation can be a world heritage.

Leadership and genuine understanding can attain this. Exponents of domination, power politics and the other ingredients of that dread war-hash are actually in the minority; but minorities have a habit of organizing and imposing their will upon the always apathetic and easy-going majority.

I believe, as Kipling did, that we men of goodwill standing shoulder to shoulder can accomplish what in our heart we fervently believe should be accomplished for the betterment of the lot of our peoples. The road is hard and the pitfalls many. But, as in everything, hard work is the essential thing. It is the hard way that you and I must follow to play our seemingly insignificant but collectively overwhelming part in silencing the sirens for all time, and in seeing that those who pose as angels in our midst have wings to fly with—and not to pack a gun too.

"THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF ULSTER"

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR ERNEST HERBERT COOPER

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, December 21, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: As this is the Christmas meeting of The Empire Club, we are varying our program a little today and are to be favored with a musical selection by the Roberts Instrumental Trio, members of The Toronto Symphony Orchestra, consisting of Mr. Oswald Roberts, 'cello, Harry Bergart, violin, with Mr. Simeon Joyce at the piano. Their selection will be "Christmas Fantasies" arranged by Lake.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Our guest speaker today, Sir Ernest Cooper, is a Canadian, born in Clinton, Ontario, and is a graduate of the University of Toronto.

In 1908, he went to England where he has been successful in the industrial field and is now Chairman of the Board of Gillette Industries Limited, makers of safety razors and other products.

He has maintained his interest in Canadian affairs. He was one of the founders of the Beaver Club in London and serves on committees of the Canadian Y.M.C.A., and the Canadian Red Cross overseas. He is the representative in London of the Canadian Lawn Tennis Association.

He is a veteran of World War 1, and in the present war he aided Lord Beaverbrook in the Ministry of Aircraft Production. He was knighted by the King on the first of last January.

For a period of two years, he was Industrial Adviser to the Government of Northern Ireland and has since then been appointed Public Relations Officer for the Government of Northern Ireland in London.

Early this year, Mr. Beverley Baxter wrote two articles for *MacLean's Magazine* describing a trip to Northern Ireland in company with Sir Ernest Cooper. A sentence from one of the articles may explain why Northern Ireland chooses a Canadian to represent them, and also, perhaps, why our guest chooses to represent Northern Ireland. "There is much in common between the Canadian and the Ulsterman, the same genuineness, the same lack of affectation, the same instinct to welcome the visitor as one of themselves."

I have great pleasure in presenting Sir Ernest Herbert Cooper who will address us on "The Strategic Position of Ulster."

SIR ERNEST HERBERT COOPER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The other day when I was approaching an American port on a ship that was carrying a substantial number of American persons, I listened to a ship's broadcast given by a senior American officer, which gave a warning against careless talk, after landing. He concluded with the abrupt admonition, "Keep your mouth shut!"

Shortly after my arrival I received a pleasant letter from Mr. Thompson of your Empire Club which invited me to be your guest and his admonition (not so abrupt) seemed to be, "When you are with us we should like you to open your mouth."

So I am speaking to you today with those conflicting instructions on my mind. But there are one or two things upon which I am free to speak.

Firstly, I think I ought to say on behalf of the coterie of Canadians in London that they realize that during the past five years they have been living in reflected glory—glory reflected from the great contribution that Canada has made to the war effort and from the sympathy and concern you have exhibited in a thousand forms in the tribulations of the people of the United

Kingdom. That sympathy has aroused the most profound gratitude and admiration in the hearts of the people with whom we associate daily.

You have called upon some of us Canadians in London to supplement that contribution and it has been our pleasure to serve on committees which your voluntary organisations have set up in London to give direction on the spot to the movement which you have initiated and which you have supported so generously. For instance, the Canadian Red Cross have a London Committee, ably presided over by that great Canadian, Lord Bennett; the Canadian Y.M.C.A. has a London Committee assisting the senior officers of the Y.M.C.A. (of which the chief is a Toronto man, Capt. Ed. Otter, who has done a truly noble piece of gruelling work.) That committee is presided over by Mr. McIlwraith, a partner of Wood, Gundy & Co. of this city. The Beaver Club Committee meets regularly in the office of the Canadian High Commissioner. The Canadian Legion and the Knights of Columbus have their committees.

All in all the Canadians in London have been brought more closely together and have seen considerably more of one another than in peace time when our individual avocations did not cause our paths to intersect so frequently. For myself I have not had the opportunity to attend these committee meetings so regularly as I could have wished; that is because I was called upon for other governmental duties directly connected with the war effort.

In June of 1940, just as France had fallen, I was called off the Wimbledon golf course one Saturday afternoon to receive a telephone message from the newly appointed Minister of Aircraft Production, Lord Beaverbrook. I was told he wanted to see me. I looked at my watch, figured how long it would take me to finish the round, wash up and travel to town, and then said I could see him any time after seven o'clock. The message came back that my appointment was for 5.20. I replied that I had said anytime after seven o'clock, to which the answer came, "You know our Minister." I was there at 5.20 and during the following years was consistently submissive.

As I see it now the chief tasks of the Ministry of Aircraft Production at that time, aside from its administrative functions were, first, to increase the production of fighter planes and, second, to disperse the aircraft factories in order to minimize the effect of the air attack which we could see was impending.

And let me say here, and it is said by one who was in a position to observe his work at close quarters, Lord Beaverbrook's drive and his direction of aircraft construction immediately preceding the Battle of Britain contributed materially to the successful issue of that momentous struggle.

My own work in the Ministry was on dispersal. Our instructions were to have everything in a factory unit made in three different places, so that no one bomb could affect our output by more than one third. That year our coterie on that task was requisitioning properties pretty fast. So that we even became known as Beaverbrook's brigands, though I must say I found very few property owners who refused to disregard their personal interests when the national need was explained to them.

I would like to tell you of one incident that occurred at a factory where I was carrying on that dispersal work. A squadron of fighter pilots came to the factory to give the workers personal "pep" talks. The manager provided lunch in a private room and the squadron leader placed at the manager's right a little fair haired pilot officer, whom you might have considered from his diminutive size the least important member of the party. The manager engaged him in conversation and learned that he had twenty-three German planes to his credit.

He said to him, "I understand you brought down the plane that bombed Buckingham Palace."

"Yes," he replied, "but he got me too and I had to bail out."

"At what height?"

"Oh, about 10,000 feet."

"All right?"

"Yes, all right."

"Well," said the manager, "I hope the authorities give you chaps plenty of leave."

"They're not so bad," said the officer. "In fact, I am on leave now."

"What, on leave now and spending it in an aircraft factory! Why not get into the country and enjoy a change of scene?" "Oh well," said the pilot, "I have only one place to go to, that is up in Scotland where I have two old aunts and if I go there they will keep talking to me about the dangers of flying."

Lord Beaverbrook left after a year in that office and shortly afterwards I was invited to go to Northern Ireland as industrial adviser to the Minister of Commerce of that Province. You will all know that Northern Ireland is the one part of the United Kingdom that has local or Provincial Government. That was set up as a result of the long political struggle over what was known as Home Rule for Ireland. You know how Dublin wanted Home Rule and how Belfast refused to have it. In 1921 the long dispute was settled (if anything in Ireland is ever settled) by dividing Ireland into two parts, giving Dominion status to what is known as Eire and leaving the six Northern Counties called Ulster within the United Kingdom but with a Governor, a Senate and a House of Commons to administer local affairs. So far as foreign affairs are concerned, the Post Office, Customs and Excise and such things, Ulster is governed by Westminster, but her local affairs are handled by her Parliament at Stormont without the necessity of going through the congestion of Westminster.

Therefore, when it came to production of munitions, many of the problems in connection with the utilization of Ulster's capacity were the concern of Ulster's local Government, though the orders for those munitions emanated from the different supply ministries in London. The

Minister of Commerce with whom I worked provided the connecting link.

I say that much to show how for the next two years I came into close touch with Ulster industry and Ulster thought. No man could have been received more kindly and I know that the fact that I am a Canadian helped me.

I could tell you a good deal about the achievement of Ulster in munition production, her ships, aeroplanes, shells and ammunition of many kinds, but that privilege is as yet denied to me. What I would like to speak about to you, and what I think is of direct concern to you, is the strategic position of Ulster.

When France fell in 1940, it is no secret that the ports on the southern and eastern shores of the United Kingdom were almost unusable. The Mersey and the Clyde had their troubles but they were the two entrances to the British Isles on which we were dependent. The protection of convoys coming to those two ports was a vital matter. Now if you will remember the geography you learned at school you will realize that Ulster is situated across the St. George's Channel, midway between the Clyde and the Mersey. You will therefore, realize the importance of the naval bases at Belfast and Londonderry, and the Ulster aerodromes and sea plane bases, in giving naval protection and aircover to the convoys going to and fro.

I have seen sea planes leave an Ulster sea plane base, some going to the coast of Spain, some on Atlantic patrol, some going as far north as Iceland. From an Ulster base flew the Catalina that spotted the Bismark. I have seen many wounded ships find shelter in Ulster ports. Our great danger in 1940 was the uncovered channel in the Mid-Atlantic not reached by the air patrols of either side. Without the bases of Ulster, that is if the the aeroplanes and sea planes had been based in Scotland, that channel would have been two hundred miles wider than it was.

Let me read you what Mr. Winston Churchill has said about it. This was in a letter written by him to Mr. Andrews when he retired from the Premiership of Northern Ireland in May 1943. He said, "Only one great channel of entry remained open, because loyal Ulster gave us the full use of the Northern Irish ports and waters and thus ensured the free working of the Clyde and the Mersey. But for the loyalty of Northern Ireland and its devotion to what has now become the cause of thirty governments or nations, we should have been confronted with slavery and death, and the light which now shines throughout the world would have been quenched."

One would deduce from that letter and those considerations that there is no longer any basis for the long-existing fear of Ulster that she might be cast out from the United Kingdom, and I believe that there is no great danger of that happening. But there are people who will try for it nevertheless. There are some who look upon the division of Ireland as an untidy arrangement and would perhaps use the traditional British policy of appeasement to effect what they call "tidying it up." Should that attempt be made I hope that Canada will exercise its influence. Let us remember that from the downfall of France up to "D" day every Canadian soldier that entered Great Britain in this war came in under the protection of Ulster —every soldier from the United States likewise.

Mr. Walter Lippman, the American columnist, in his book on the need of a new American foreign policy, has advocated a postwar alliance between Great Britain and the U.S.A. as a first essential to organised world peace. He advocates this alliance not only because the thoughts and sympathies of the two nations are similar, but also because through an alliance with Great Britain, America would obtain three entrances to the Eastern Hemisphere, by Cape Town, by Gibraltar and by the British Isles. Of these three the most important is that by the British Isles. Ulster stands guard over that entrance, and on that account has been called the "Gibraltar of the North." Her strategic position is so important that I submit her political position admits of no compromise, and it seems to me that it should be a fixed policy in Empire councils that there will be no gambling with her ports.

And in considering Ulster from a strategic point of view, let us not forget to be grateful that she is peopled by men who are steadfast and loyal and true.

"TARGET FOR TOMORROW"

AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE GEORGE A. DREW

PRIME MINISTER OF ONTARIO

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, January 4th, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: During the season of 1932-33 The Empire Club had as its president, Lieut-Col. George A. Drew. In the intervening years, he has returned to this club on a number of occasions as one of our most popular guest speakers.

He has always been a champion of the ideals for which this club has its being. Since his elevation to the post of Prime Minister of the Province, he has by re-opening the Ontario Office in London taken a tangible step to promote closer relations between Canada and the heart of the Empire in Great Britain .

Colonel Drew in addition to his position of Prime Minister, also fills the post of Minister of Education. No function of Government comes closer to the daily interests of our citizens than the education of our children. It is not necessary to say that this war has pointed out again the very vital value that democracy must develop through the education of the coming generation.

I am happy to present to the Club at this time, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable George A. Drew, Prime Minister and Minister of Education of this Province who will address us on "Target for Tomorrow."

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THE HONOURABLE GEORGE A. DREW: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: You paid me an implied compliment, which I appreciate very much, in asking me to be the first speaker at a meeting of The Empire Club of Canada, in this fateful year of 1945. At this season it is customary to cast our thoughts forward into the months that lie ahead, and at this particular season of this particular year there are powerful reasons why each one of us should devote much thought to what we expect of Canada in the months and years which lie ahead.

As Canadians, what is our peace target for tomorrow? What is the real goal for which we are striving? What is our real vision of our own future? There are some answers to those questions which it is not difficult to give. Our men and women in uniform and in the munition factories want jobs when peace returns. All Canadians want personal security throughout their working years and afterward. Every possible effort must be devoted to the task of assuring those jobs and establishing a basis of social security which will give confidence to all our people.

Much thought, writing, discussion and constructive action is being directed toward the achievement of those objectives, not only here in Canada, but in Britain, the United States, and many other countries with which we are so closely associated in this war. It is not my intention, however, to discuss those subjects today. In no one speech such as this can the whole field be covered. I want to speak to you for a while about our future as a nation and the course we Canadians are going to set for ourselves.

We have seen the all too tragic evidence in these past few days that neither freedom nor victory alone assure happiness and security for any nation. We have been told over and over again that this is a war of ideas, and yet we find that the war between conflicting ideas still goes on after the Nazi yoke has been withdrawn. It seems only too clear that amongst the liberated people themselves there was no agreement about the kind of country they wanted to build.

I was very much struck with a sentence written by Sir Richard Livingstone in that truly magnificent book, entitled, "Education for a World Adrift". These were his words: "The efficiency of a community will depend on its technical and vocational education; its cohesion and duration largely on its social or political education." Those words have a direct application to this problem. The material success of a nation or smaller community will depend on its technical and vocational training, but the unity and survival of the nation will depend upon the extent to which people have reached agreement about their own national and social objectives.

There was a time when it was the accepted practice in Great Britain to move in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the state of the nation. During those long trying years of the wars with France ending at Waterloo, time and time again you will see the most important debates and discussions of the expected future of Britain following such a motion. It would seem that such a practice has much to commend it and that we Canadians, not in our official relationships but in our personal relationships and our personal discussions which in the end formulate public policy, can gain much advantage from discussing the state of our Nation with complete frankness and with complete realism.

We are so often told about what the young men and women now in uniform would ask of us. Gentlemen, I believe that the thing they would ask of us above all else is that we face the future with courage, with realism and with honesty, and that, unless we do, we are only building the foundation of an even greater catastrophe in the years to come.

More than 2300 years ago Thucydides, the Father of History, explained that the reason he was recording events of the past was that he might give "a true picture of events which have happened and which, human nature being what it is, are likely to be repeated at some future time with more or less exactness." This, after all, has been the real purpose of history ever since and today it is of vital concern that we Canadians, as well as the people of other nations, should remember the history of recent years, because in that history is to be found ample warning of the pitfalls we should avoid and equally clear guidance as to the course we should follow.

Canadians want and are entitled to personal security, but the history of the tragic years since 1919 tells us only too clearly that there can be no personal security without national security, and that national security, upon which all personal security depends, demands positive action to prevent war, that there is no other way of preserving security once victory has been won. As a result there seems to be general agreement that the nations now united in war will form some world body for collective action to prevent aggression such as we have seen twice in a single generation.

I was very much impressed by an article I read a few days ago by an extremely competent writer in the United States who was reviewing the Dunbarton Oaks discussions. In referring to the emphasis at that meeting upon the necessity for military power to preserve peace, the writer made this comment: "The very fact that the United Nations are still far from having won the war, either in Europe or in Asia, gives far more weight to the possession of military power than would be the case once hostilities are over." Without perhaps intending to do so, the writer of that article gave the clearest possible warning of the necessity for remembering our recent history. God forbid that we should give less weight to the need of military power when the war is over. It was because we did that after 1919 that step by step Germany and Japan made this war inevitable.

It is of the utmost importance that as a people we should make our decisions now while the lessons are so vivid, and that we resolve in all earnestness not to forget those lessons as we did before in the years of peace. The principles enunciated for the preservation of peace in the Covenant of the League of Nations were sound enough in every way. They lacked only one thing to make them effective, and that was military power.

The League of Nations failed to preserve peace, not because of any mistake in principle but because of weakness in practice. The first League of Nations was not formed in 1919, it was formed 2500 years earlier, in the year 545 B.C., to be exact, and that League failed for the very same reason. In that year the Prime Minister of the State of Sung called a conference at which fourteen military powers met and solemnly agreed to abolish war. Ten years later that first League of Nations lay in ruins because they had only abolished war in words and had failed to take any collective action to prevent one powerful state breaking the Covenant. Human nature being what it is, history has repeated itself over and over again and similar Leagues throughout the centuries have failed in their purpose for the same reason.

Now, with all the agony of a war which increases day by day in ferocity, beyond anything ever known before, surely we must be ready to mean what we say this time when we talk of preserving peace in the years to come. When we think of what our men are going through today in Holland, in Italy, and on many other battlefronts; when we think of what our airmen are enduring in the unceasing air war on many fronts; when we think of those young men of ours who are maintaining their endless vigils over the wide stretches of the sea of every part of the world; when we think of all that still must be endured by those men and by their families, we must be sure as a nation that we do everything within human power to prevent this happening again. And we must be prepared as a people to accept all the implications of what we undertake to do.

When we speak of taking our part as a nation in a collective world organization to maintain peace after this war, let us examine in calm and cold logic exactly what that means. If we are to be a part of any such collective plan, then we must be prepared to take our share in preventing any threatened war, and any nation which really means to take its part in preventing war or stopping a war which has started must be ready to wage war for that purpose. That is reality. Anything else is mere bluff—the same kind of bluff which brought this war upon us.

There will be risks involved—grave risks. There would have been risks involved in stopping Japanese aggression in Manchuria, German aggression in Europe, and Italian aggression in North Africa. But we know today that those risks would have been negligible for the nations which took collective action at that time, in comparison with the dreadful reality of the years of war and the almost equally terrible years of suspense which preceded it.

If we are going to join in any collective plan for the prevention of war, then we must be prepared to contemplate the maintenance of the military force which gives our undertaking any meaning. And if we are going to have such a military force, then there must be some form of military service to maintain it. There can't be any other reality. If there is to be a military service, that military service must be for the purpose of carrying out our undertakings.

We Canadians have inherited the basic personal rights which came to us through the adoption of the common law of England. Many of those rights were established by the Bill of Rights, just as similar rights were established in the United States by their Bill of Rights. If we are to take our place in a collective world organization to preserve peace, then I think the time has come to adopt something in the nature of a national Bill of Duties, which must go hand in hand with Rights and that leave no future doubt that there must be absolute equality of obligation right across Canada in the service of the State.

Now, we have our own history. Let us read it and understand it, and let us make sure while the events are clear before us, that if it should ever become necessary at any time in the future to require such service for the preservation of our national freedom or the fulfillment of our national obligations, there shall be full equality right across the whole of Canada and applying to every part of Canada. That surely, Gentlemen, is the inescapable lesson of our domestic history of these past few years.

Now I propose, in examining our future and our status as a nation, to discuss one other subject which I think we must face with equal frankness. It shouldn't need to be repeated, but there are times when it is obvious that we must repeat, that we are a member of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Now, either that means a very great deal or it means nothing at all—one or the other. If it means something then it is high time for us as a people to decide exactly what it does mean. Surely if there is any clear lesson of the history of these years it is that doubt and uncertainty as to the course to be followed is the surest way to bring disaster. Of course Canada is a completely sovereign nation. We have long passed the point where there need be any debate about that, but it may be well for us to recall that there is nothing which limits our sovereignty in any way if we establish an ever closer relationship within that partnership of nations under one common Crown.

If ever we needed proof of the practical, not merely the emotional but the practical, value of that partnership for Canada it has been offered to us during this war. Our Air Force, our Navy and our Army have given every Canadian new reasons for pride in our own country and in the name we bear. But the extent of their effort, and the extent of our effort in Canada as a nation, has been made possible by the close military and political partnership which has existed throughout the Empire as a whole during this war. That partnership has been of enormous benefit to Britain and they are the first to state that to be the fact. It has also been of enormous benefit to us, and it has been of equal benefit to every other part of the Empire.

It has, of course, and I am the first to recognize that, become the accepted practice in some quarters to brand anyone who asserts this conviction as an "Imperialist", and as being something less than a pure Canadian. Now, I must say that it takes nothing from my pride as a

Canadian to hold the belief that as a Canadian I also enjoy the privilege of being something more. I think that being a Canadian means much more when it also means that we are part of that great world fellowship which saved freedom for all mankind in 1940 and 1941.

When I hear of some of the gratuitous advice being given to Mr. Winston Churchill, even here in Canada, I wonder if the memories of such people are so short that they forget that it was Winston Churchill's voice that rallied the only people who were standing for freedom in 1940. He doesn't need to be told what Freedom means by those who admire anything except the British connection here or elsewhere throughout the world.

I do find it a little difficult, however, to understand how some Canadians can become so enthusiastic about Canada's close association with the Pan-American Union, while at the same time they find so many reasons for concern about our full and active association with the British partnership. By all means, let every one of us do everything within our power to further close association with the United Nations in the years of peace, and let us be equally vigorous in promoting good will between our own nation and other nations in both North and South America. But at the same time, Gentlemen, I wish to assert my own belief that our first concern as Canadians in the field of external relationships is the development of an ever stronger and more vigorous *Pan-British* Union.

Quite apart from any other consideration, it may sometimes be well for us not to get carried away with the association of names, and to think that the Americas bulk us all in one small area, and to recall that we are very much closer to Britain, not only in our historical background, but also in actual distance, than we are to the great centers of population in South America, to mention nothing about a thing called language. It is just about twice as far from Halifax to Buenos Aires as it is from Halifax to London. That perhaps should be kept in mind when we consider the relative degree of geographical association between the nations of South America and the nations within the British partnership.

May I recall another important lesson which so many of us did forget in the years between the two wars. For Canadians the outstanding lesson of the Great War was the vital part which co-operation between the different parts of the British Empire played in developing our own strength for that struggle. As a people we won a proud name in that earlier struggle. For four long years Canadian troops were in action and when the time came to launch the great attack they destroyed German military power in the summer of 1918. Canadians have reason to recall with pride that it was the Canadian Corps that was chosen as the spearhead of that attack because it was then recognized as the greatest fighting organization on the Western Front. But the thing which every man who fought in that Corps recognized as the basis of our strength was the full measure of co-operation in every aspect of the war between Canada and the other parts of the Empire.

Once again Canadians are writing a proud page of history in a still more terrible war and a war upon which infinitely more depends, and once again the lesson which stands out above all others is the strength which comes from our membership in that great partnership.

I have seen, not so very long ago, our splendid lads in the Royal Canadian Air Force, going out from their stations in Britain and in France against Germany and against the German Air Force. I have also in this past year seen Canadians stationed at far off airports in Iceland, the Azores, Newfoundland, Labrador and our own Atlantic seaboard. I have seen our gallant young men in the uniform of the Royal Canadian Navy manning our ships of war on widely separated tasks. I have seen our men in the Canadian Army in battle areas which have tested stamina and courage as much as any battles that men ever fought anywhere. Stand on any of the roads in Europe today and see those men going forward into action and you see something that has an important lesson for us for the years of peace.

Among those vehicles carrying men of every branch of the service into action are thousands, scores of thousands of military vehicles made here in Canada. Among the machines of war and the weapons of war are machines of war and weapons of war made here in Canada. Over head fly our young men in the fighter squadrons in the Tempests, the Typhoons, the Spitfires, the Hurricanes, and others whose names are not yet public, and all those things have been taken to France and supplied for them by the ships of the Navy and the Merchant Marine in which we Canadians are taking so great a part.

But, Gentlemen, interpreting this in terms of lessons for the future, the thing for us to remember is that with those Canadian machines and weapons of war are many more machines and weapons of war made in the workshops of Britain being used by our men as well as by their own; and there is a lesson in the fact that every one of those fighter aircraft in which young Canadians are shooting down German aircraft whenever they appear—and one young novice just this last week shot down seven—every one of those fighter aircraft was made in the workshops of Britain. Of the great Bomber Squadrons the majority of the machines are Halifaxes and Lancasters made in Britain, but there are some of our own, made splendidly in our own workshops here, along with Mosquitoes and other aircraft we make so well.

Once again, Gentlemen, the lesson is the same. We have contributed greatly to the success that is bringing us ever closer to victory on the sea, in the air, on the land. It is this combination of fighting men, moving in the same formation, obeying the same command, with the same conception of their military duty and using the same types of machines that are forging a great fighting team that is going to play its full part in winning victory, whenever that may come.

In that great movement we are being given reason to say with pride as never before, "This is the kind of men we produce in Canada. This is the kind of men who will give our country its strength and vigour tomorrow."

If we can achieve so much in this close partnership for war, surely the lesson is just as clear today as it was during the last war that our first external objective as Canadians is to do everything within our power to maintain that partnership in the years to come.

I recognize that there are those amongst us who are frankly pessimistic about the future of Britain and therefore, at the same time, about an Empire partnership of which Britain is the senior member. They fear, and don't hesitate to say so, and perhaps have some reasons for their statement, that Britain has been hopelessly impoverished by the war, has become exhausted by the enormous load they have carried and that they will cease to be a powerful world force when this war is over.

Again, however, history is a useful guide by which to judge the future of Britain and the British Empire in the postwar world. This isn't the first time pessimistic opinions have been expressed about Britain's future. One hundred and sixty years ago an eminent British writer wrote, and I use his own words, that he had come "to the infallible, inevitable conclusion that the state is bankrupt and that those who have trusted their all on the public faith are in very imminent danger of becoming beggars." Those were blue times in Britain. A few years later, however, an equally eminent writer published his opinion in an article under the significant title "An Antidote to Despondency", written about a hundred and fifty years ago. I leave you to judge which writer best gauged the real spirit and fibre of his own people. These were the words of the more optimistic writer: "Even the ablest men may entertain ill-founded and groundless apprehensions. Nothing but the grossest mismanagement, however, can possibly effect the ruin of so powerful an Empire, inhabited by a race of people distinguished for strength, courage and for ability." Remember, those were dark days, those were extremely dark days when these optimistic words were written. The War of Independence had been fought and many hopes centered in what is now the United States had come to an end. There had been a tremendous increase in the public debt and British trade was gravely threatened. It took a brave man indeed in those dark days to write with such confidence, but after the lapse of more than 150 years those words still convey a message for the people of our generation.

Gentlemen, every one who has seen Britain in these trying days knows it is a confident Britain, that it is a courageous and united Britain, and they know it is a Britain which has made perfectly certain that the going ahead is going to be tough and that they are ready to face it. In that, Gentlemen, they have already won half the battle. I hope you will forgive me if I repeat again those simple words from "An Antidote to Despondency", written so long ago: "Even the ablest men may entertain ill-founded and groundless apprehension. Nothing but the grossest mismanagement, however, can possibly effect the ruin of so powerful an Empire, inhabited by a race of people distinguished for strength, courage and for ability".

Our material as well as our spiritual advantage will best be served in that great partnership as it has been in the past, but that partnership isn't going to be preserved by mere words and by enthusiastic singing of "God Save the King". It will be preserved only by a burning, dynamic faith in the future of the British people, and in what that fellowship means for our children and our children's children, because unless we believe it we will have no right to work for it.

It calls for the sort of faith that was expressed by Winston Churchill in 1940. Do you remember these words? "We have become the sole champions now in arms to defend the world cause. We shall do our best to be worthy of that high honour. We shall defend our island home and with the British Empire we shall fight on unconquerable until the curse of Hitler is lifted from the brows of mankind. We are sure that in the end all will come right." Those words, now nearing fulfillment, were a heartfelt expression of the history of the British people. The political possibilities of that great partnership—and I use the word "political" in its widest and highest sense—were never so bright as they are today if we make use of all the tremendous energy that has been brought forth by this war.

As we choose our target for tomorrow, let us as Canadians set our sights high for Canada is in truth the land of tomorrow. I have spoken much of Britain and the future of Britain and I do so because I think it is well that we examine the position of our partner. Let us leave no doubt, however, that we have even greater faith in the future of Canada and look forward to the day when Canada may well become in the years ahead the senior member of that great partnership in population, in wealth and in power.

Does that seem to you a rash hope for the future? If it does I would ask you to read the last article from the pen of that most lovable of all Canadians, Stephen Leacock. It was published in October, some time after he had died, under the challenging title, "Canada Can Support One Hundred Million". Stephen Leacock, who has stood here before this Club and expressed that youthful optimism which was with him to the end, was one of the greatest Canadians of our generation and often, because he was our best known humorist, it was forgotten that he was one of our great economists as well. So often he followed Voltaire's precept, "A serious thing should not be seriously said", and he used his humour to cloak his most serious arguments. As an economist, as a man who knew the world so well, and as a splendid Canadian, Stephen Leacock left for us his confident message of the future of Canada—one hundred million people. The exact figure doesn't matter. There is no use arguing about a detail of arithmetic.

What does matter is whether or not we believe in the years to come our population is going to grow. If we do, and if we believe in the strong power of survival of the people of Britain as well, and of our partners within the Empire, then, Gentlemen, our course is very clear. Our target is not in any doubt. If we believe that the spirit that this Empire showed in 1940 and has shown in the years that have followed, if we believe that the courage, stamina and strength and spirit of these people can carry us on to success in the future, then that, Gentlemen, is our target for tomorrow. At the beginning of this new year when we all exchange greetings for the year to come and our hope for what it may bring, I believe that we can well repeat with confidence at this season of hope and optimism the words adopted as the motto of this Club, "Canada and a United Empire".

"THE PRESENT SITUATION"

An Address By

THE RIGHT HON. MALCOLM MacDONALD,
High Commissioner to Canada for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, January 11, 1945

Mr. Conquergood: If I were presenting to you a speaker from the theatrical word, I might comment as follows:

Our guest speaker comes to us today on a return engagement because of his previous good performances. He first came to address our Club in May, 1941, and honored us again in January, 1943, just two years ago this week. Both of these messages were very greatly appreciated.

In other capacities in connection with his duties in Canada, The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald by his own efforts has won for himself a prominent place in the hearts of Canadians. In this respect, he has repeated by his own worth the accomplishments he achieved before coming to Canada.

In the course of time, whether it be soon or late, he will probably return to Great Britain to follow in the footsteps of his distinguished father, The Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald. We can assure him that we, as Canadians, will observe with pride whatever future distinction may come to him in his service to the Empire.

I can assure you, Sir, that this comment is not made with any suggestion of "speeding our parting guest", but simply to assure you of our high regard in the eventuality that you might return to Great Britain before you again visit our Club.

Mr. MacDonald came to Canada in 1941 as High Commissioner to Canada for the United Kingdom ot Great Britain and Northern Ireland. I have very much pleasure in presenting to the Club, The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald who is to address us on "The Present Situation."

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MACDONALD: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Thank you, Sir, for your very kind words of welcome, and thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your kindly reception.

It is always a great pleasure to come to this hospitable Club. I am only sorry when the pleasantness of the occasion gets spoiled when I have to go through the ordeal of making a speech and you have to go through the even worse ordeal of listening to it.

It has been suggested that I should speak about the present situation. Well, we have come to a crucial moment in our lives as citizens of the contemporary world and in the life of the human race as a whole. The terrible World War of the '40's is moving convulsively to its close. The problems and the opportunities of the peace which will follow lie ahead of us. This is a most fateful period of transition.

The question is, are we going to jump out of the frying pan into the fire or are we going to land safe and sound on the solid kitchen floor?

The democratic constitution of the countries, to which you and I belong, enable every one of us to play our small part in affairs. Indeed, collectively, we and the wider circle of our friends and those, who are like-minded with us outside, can exert a considerable influence on events. Let us consider and decide and then play our part with a full sense of the responsibility that rests upon us.

It isn't a mere orator's phrase, it is a stark fact that what we do and what we can influence our leaders to do in the next two or three years will decide much more than whether the remainder of our lives is going to be a pleasant or an extremely unpleasant experience. It is going to settle also very largely the fate of our children and of generations still unborn.

We are familiar with those grim wartime posters which caution us against unguarded speech about military secrets, lest, if we are indiscreet, soldiers or sailors or airmen on the battle fronts are needlessly killed by the enemy. We heed those warnings with the utmost care, but in these days we ought to see also in our mind's eyes other equally insistent posters, and written on them should be the warning that unless we are cool and sane and wise now in the policies that we pursue, then children who are now at school or playing in their nurseries or lying yet in their mothers' wombs will fifteen or twenty or twenty-five years hence be sent wholesale to slaughter in another war.

That warning should always lie in the very forefront of our consciences. The problems of our time are so great that they can only be solved by people with a capacity for remaining undeterred by even the most appalling difficulties. We have got to keep cool heads. We shouldn t keep blowing hot or cold with every change for the better or for the worse in our fortunes on the military or the diplomatic or the political front..

So far as the conduct of the war against Germany is concerned things have not been going too well lately. We were too optimistic about the date when the colossal military might of Germany might be crushed and we have been deeply disappointed by recent setbacks. But let us keep a sound sense of perspective.

What has been happening to the Western Front in Europe lately? I am not a military strategist, even of the amateur kind, who always know much more about the business than the professionals do. I can't pretend to any original understanding of military affairs, but, like you, I read the writings of men who by nature and experience and study are qualified to interpret these events and I merely repeat to you, briefly, the explanation by acknowledged authorities of events in Western Europe during the last seven months.

First, it was inevitable after the great and victorious landings on D-Day last June that the Germans would put forth all their strength to hold our armies cramped and crowded and frustrated within very narrow beachheads. Then when, by brilliant leadership and heroic fighting, four months later our men burst out of the beachhead, it was perhaps to be expected that the Germans would conduct a swift retreat, with comparatively little opposition, across vast spaces of France and Belgium, until they reached naturally strong and powerfully prepared defence lines in Holland and along the borders of Germany.

We might have turned those defence lines if the gallant exploits of our air-borne division at Arnheim had been crowned with victory, but, after that had failed, whether our armies could reap the full advantage of their magnificent sweeps forward depended very largely on whether the provision of supply depots and lines of communication could keep pace with their rapid advance.

Well, the success of the Germans in denying to us for many weeks after that the use of the line of ports along the coast from Le Havre to Antwerp robbed us of the chance of a swift and complete success, but the steady seizures and captures of the ports, one by one, and especially the clearing of the Scheldt Estuary up to Antwerp by Canadian and British troops, removed that obstacle. It made possible the beginning of the climax of the Allied offensive on the Western Front, because the freezing of those ports enabled all our armies to develop their hitting power and to strike hard at Germany itself.

The really vital blows struck at Germany were those aimed by the Americans at regions of the Ruhr and the Saar, because Germany's capacity to resist, to continue fighting, is largely in the coal mines and the power houses and the munitions factories of those prolifically productive areas. They are the Vulcan workshops of the German Reich, and if the Saar and the Ruhr could be cut from

Germany's side that wound would prove fatal. Afterward Germany must quickly collapse and lie at our mercy.

Slowly but surely the Americans were edging and pushing and pounding their way into those vital parts of the German military body. In the early days of December they were meeting with increasing success and it was their success in those places which forced Von Rundstedt into his counter-offensive of December 18th. If he had waited any longer he might have been too late.

We must never underestimate the capacity of our enemies to keep up a stout fight, but in his action there was at least an element of the desperation of a man who is facing defeat. His blow was delivered with characteristic German power and skill. Evidently it caught a portion of our forces off their guard. For a while its terrific punch was extremely dangerous. The net result of it on the fortunes of the war is still uncertain.

All one can say at the moment is that both sides have something to congratulate themselves upon. On our side, our soldiers, the Americans and the British together, have succeeded in preventing the Germans' damaging thrust from becoming a disastrous break-through. The manoeuvre of the Von Rundstedt salient is now shrinking like a pricked balloon, but the Germans also can claim some success. For the time being, at any rate, they have succeeded in slowing down the momentum of our all-important penetrations against the regions of the Ruhr and the Saar.

Well, that revese ought to sober us, but it ought never to unnerve us. If it did that, then the Germans would have succeeded in gaining one of their most cherished objectives. They are trying to rattle us. They are trying to throw the Allies into a state of depression and self-questioning in which they begin to criticize each other. The cold, calculating men who now rule Germany know that only two hopes are left. First is that they can protract the war until their scientists somehow, somewhere, sometime, do produce new secret weapons which really will destroy us. Their second hope is that the United Nations will start bickering among themselves, that they will become the disunited nations, and that they will throw away their painfully gathered fruits of victory.

In the latter, the Germans have had just a little encouragement lately. You remember how one of the devices which Hitler in the palmy days used to employ with devilish cunning against his intended victims was the war of nerves. He would start doing various agitating things to make them jittery before he hurled against them the full weight of his military armaments.

Well, to some extent we seem to be suffering from a war of nerves just now. The difference is that it is not being waged against us by the enemey, it is being waged against us by ourselves. The reverse on the Western Front and the disappointing progress on some other fronts unfortunately coincided with diplomatic troubles in one or two places, and with deep tragedy in Greece. In Britain and in the United States of America, as well as elsewhere, those developments caused an irritation of temper which manifested itself in certain amounts of mutual recrimination.

Nothing could be more deplorable from the point of view of the waging of the war. It gives our enemies immense encouragement at a moment when their morale is badly in need of some such uplift. And as for the conduct of affairs after the war, these disputes might seriously prejudice that co-operation between the United Nations which is absolutely essential if we are going to establish peace and security and progress for the human race.

One cause of the frictions which have arisen was the unhappy situation which suddenly flared up in Greece. Its opening was followed by an outburst of accusations against the part which the British Government and a British military force were playing in that classic little country. Opinion in Britain itself has been to some extent divided on the subject, but the bitterest accusations came from outside. No doubt there is plenty of room for honest differences of opinion on such a complex and tragic situation as has arisen in Greece, but there is no room for wild misrepresentations, especially when they undermine confidence between nations who are being good comrades in war and whose continued good comradeship is going to be of paramount importance when we return to peace.

So, let me say a few things about certain aspects of the matter. I can state nothing new. In any case, it isn't for a High Commissioner to state anything new. I can only repeat things which have been made clear already in speeches by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, and other British spokesmen.

First, how did the British come into Greece at all? I will speak in a few moments about why they are there, but first, how did they come to be there? It is sometimes suggested that they have imposed themselves upon the Greeks, that they are poking their noses into something which isn't their own business. That is completely untrue. The British are in Greece, first, because after consultation the American authorities and the Russian authorities both agreed that they should go there. Greece was a place where the British could most appropriately assume the heavy responsibilities which fall upon the United Nations in their attempt to restore peace and order to a war-shattered Europe.

Secondly, the British went there because they received a unanimous invitation and, indeed, a unanimous appeal from the Greek Government. Moreover, that invitation came at a time when there were not only members of the other parties but several members of the E.A.M. and the Communists, who controlled the ELAS forces, sitting as Ministers in the Government. Therefore, the British have unchallengeable credentials for being in Greece.

Then why are they in Greece? It is sometimes suggested that they wish to acquire territorial or economic advantages. They desire nothing of the kind. The spokesmen of the Government in Downing Street have given the lie to that charge. There is only one thing that the

British people desire from the Greeks—it is their friendship. The Greeks and the British happen to have a common interest in seeing that peace shall reign in the central and eastern Mediterranean. That has made the two peoples firm friends for more than a century and both peoples, in every party in both countries, passionately desire that that relationship shall continue.

Well, then, why is a British military force in Greece? It went there for three reasons. First, to help to chase out the Germans. In that it succeeded quickly on the mainland, although let it be remembered the British are still bearing the brunt of the fighting against our common enemies on Greek territory elsewhere.

The second reason why the British went to Greece was to provide and make possible the distribution of food and other supplies to people who otherwise would have starved. The Greeks have been very gallant Allies to all of us in the war, but their present economic and transport situation is such that they can neither grow nor import food with which to keep themselves alive. Nor has the Greek Government adequate military forces under its command to maintain law and order while that essential work of feeding and rehabilitation is getting under way.

It is true there were vigorous guerilla bands in Greece, but the Greek Government of the time, with the full consent of the E.A.M. and Communist Ministers, had agreed that all but a few units of those bands should be disbanded forthwith; and that was why that same Government then unanimously invited the British to send a military force into Greece to support the authority of the Government until a new regular army could be formed.

Well, the British in the country went about their job energetically organizing the distribution of food and clothing to the people. Not only before the recent troubles, but right through those troubles, they have been sustaining vast numbers of people in Athens and elsewhere. Mr. Eden gave the figures for a typical week shortly before the trouble began. Let me quote them to you.

Between November 18th and November 24th, our authorities unloaded in Kalamata more than 4,000 tons of food. In Patras, more than 4,000 tons. In Chaleis, nearly 3,000 tons. In Mytilene, more than 7,000 tons. In the Piraeus, 20,000 tons, and so on.

During that same period they distributed in each of many centers, spread through the country, tens of thousands of parcels of footwear and clothing to Greeks who were desperately in need of those supplies. That work has been going on under the direction of our troops right through the troubles.

Let me quote one or two typical examples. Between December 13th and 19th, flour was distributed to 800,000 Greek people in Athens and the Piraeus.

On December 30th, 12,000 people were provided with free meals in Athens and the Piraeus by our troops. On December 30th, emergency food supplies were distributed to 271,000 people in various areas of the country.

Well, I don't have to repeat to you the sorry details of how the present strife suddenly blazed out in the middle of that constructive work. Those details belong solely to the vagaries of domestic Greek politics and are entirely the business of the Greeks themselves, but in that connection another charge has been made against the British authorities. It is said that they are supporting the parties of the Right in Greece, against the parties of the Left. Nothing could be more fantastic. In the first place, the British Government which is supposed to be guilty of that prejudice doesn't itself belong to the Right. It is a Coalition Government, composed equally of representatives of the Right parties and of the Left parties in British politics.

Secondly, at the very time when it was said that the British were trying to force a King on the Greeks with British bayonets, British statesmen were engaged doing the very opposite. The Greek King was in London and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden were strongly advising him that he should not return to Greece. They were urging him that he should wait until the Greek people had had a free opportunity in a plebiscite to declare whether they wanted a King back again or not.

And that brings me to the third reason why British forces are in Greece today. They went in order to help to create conditions in which absolutely free elections could be held and the Greek people could choose whatever government they wanted.

As Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden have repeated over and over again, we are not concerned whether they choose a republic or a monarchy, a government of the Right or the Center or the Left. That is entirely their own affair. What we are anxious for is that they shall have a chance to settle it by democratic means at the earliest possible date.

So, to sum up, the plain facts are that the British went to Greece at the unanimous invitation of a Greek Government in which all parties were represented, with the assent of the American and the Russian authorities. They went for three purposes: First, to help to chase out the Germans; second, to provide and distribute food and other supplies to gallant allies who would otherwise have starved; and third, to help to create peaceful conditions in which the Greeks could choose whatever government and whatever constitution they liked.

Well, those things were gradually being achieved when domestic Greek policies threw a large spanner into the works. Frankly, the British authorities hadn't expected that. Indeed, they had received undertakings that it wouldn't happen. It put them immediately into a most embarrassing and dangerous position and they have been severely criticized for getting themselves into it.

I can only say that if that criticism has been sharp it is absolutely nothing compared to criticism that would have been hurled at the British if they had promptly backed up in Greece and left the people there to chaos and starvation.

We British have our faults. We are very capable, like other people, of making mistakes. We can be criticized legitimately on many grounds. But one charge cannot be levelled against us. We are not quitters. If we take on a responsibility, however difficult or risky or great it may be, we usually carry it through to the end. We are doing our best in Greece in the interests of the Greek people themselves and of all the United Nations, to complete the task which has been given to us there, in the impartial spirit in which we took it up.

The Greek tragedy is only one example of the sort of difficulties which we are going to face as we emerge from the war into peace. We can already see various other very teasing problems arising. No doubt as time goes on others will appear. We really must not become unnerved and lose our heads because of that. We ought to have expected that anyone who thought that after the war human problems were going to become simple and easy was living in a Fool's Paradise. The United Nations are like a company of travellers, journeying through a perilous storm. The fury of war is its hurricanes and rains, its thunder and lightning are extremely dangerous to anyone exposed to them, and only by travelling together, by encouraging and supporting each other, by co-operating with each other in our difficulties, have we been able to survive.

But we are coming through safely. After some more effort we shall emerge from the storm of war. Already ahead of us we can see the Promised Land of Peace. In its sky shines the bright Sun of Hope, casting down rays of light, but on its horizons we can also perceive other clouds. If they look dark and threatening, that is no reason for us to panic. This isn't the time for the United Nations to break their company and separate and start running in opposite directions. If we do that, then assuredly these storms of the transition period from war to peace will overwhelm us, one by one. We have got to strengthen our comradeship. We have got to stand by each other. We have got to make our companionship even closer, because only by continuing to travel together in humility, understanding, tolerance and good will are we all going to pass safely through these new storms into the happier country which lies beyond.

"WATCH ON THE RHINE"

AN ADDRESS BY

M. EMMANUEL D'HARCOURT

SECRETARY OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, January 18, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: For the past two meetings, the guest speakers of The Empire Club have dealt with purely Empire topics. For the next couple of weeks, we are to hear of the progress and present problems of some of our valiant Allies.

Today, we have as our guest speaker, Mr. Emmanuel d'Harcourt, who will present to us something of the situation that confronts those who are facing the task of reorganizing France.

We recall the sense of loss that swept over us when France first fell in 1940. We recall the stirring challenge of General de Gaulle in 1940 when he escaped to London and stated that "France had lost a battle, but France had not lost the war."

Members of this Club have heard through Madame Tabouis and Mr. Ernest Schmitz, who have addressed us, of the persistent and effective efforts of the resistance movement. Mr. d'Harcourt is the first guest speaker to represent his country on this platform since D-Day.

Mr. d'Harcourt is qualified by his own personal achievements to bring us an important message. He is still a young man, graduate of the School of Political Science of Paris; graduate in Law, University of Paris.

At the outbreak of war, he was attache of Embassy at the French Legation in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. As a reserve officer, he served in a tank regiment and took part in the campaigns of Belgium and Flanders in May 1940.

He was wounded and was evacuated to England from Dunkirk on the first of June, 1940.

When he was released from hospital, he joined the Free French Forces. From December, 1940, to August, 1943, he worked at the French Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in London. In August, 1943, he was posted to the Secretariat of the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers. He arrived at Ottawa from Algiers at the beginning of July last to take up the functions of Second Secretary at the French Embassy.

He is a member of the Order of Liberation, Chevalier in the Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre, twice mentioned in dispatches.

I have the honour to present Mr. Emmanuel d'Harcourt, who will now address us on "Watch on the Rhine."

M. EMMANUEL d'HARCOURT: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I am very grateful for the kind remarks which have just been made about my Country and myself, and I deeply appreciate the great privilege of addressing The Empire Club.

Everyone makes up his mind according to his own experiences. As a consequence of experience, there are certain things which a people cannot forget. Such, for the French, is the necessity of a watch on the Rhine.

I know that to others who have had different experiences, this necessity has not always appeared, and does not even yet appear, as obvious as it is to my fellow-countrymen. I know too that touching on a matter which means life or death to us, I may very understandably be accused of bias.

Taking into consideration, then, the mental reservations you are bound to make, I shall do my best to deal with my subject dispassionately, and with due reserve and carefulness. My sole purpose is to contribute even in a very insignificant way to the maintenance after this war of the team spirit which Field Marshal Montgomery has defined as a condition of victory. My country has suffered grievously from the dropping in 1919 of this team spirit because of differences in experiences. It is, we all know, as much a condition of lasting peace as of victory.

Philosophy of the German Menace

"A great people, but one which perpetually tends towards war, because it never ceases to dream of domination; capable, in order to crush other peoples, of putting forth extraordinary efforts and of enduring extreme sacrifices, always ready to cheer and to follow, even into crime, those who promise it conquest." Such, in General de Gaulle's words, is the German people.

As far as France is concerned, this has meant, in the realm of hard facts, three invasions in a lifetime:

Firstly, in 1870-71, there was the Bismark version of German invasion, with the siege of Paris and enemy occupation for two years. This occupation only came to an end in 1873, after payment of a war tribute which, in the currency of the time, amounted to a considerable sum. When one recalls how the Germans, after 1918, managed to dodge the problem of reparations, there is a certain irony in the fact that, in 1873, France cleared the penalty imposed on her by Germany ahead of schedule. This invasion had cost the loss of 150,000 killed and the tearing out from the heart of the French nation of one million and a half citizens, the unhappy residents of the annexed Alsace and Lorraine.

Secondly, in 1914, there was the William the Second version of German invasion, with the occupation for four years of ten departments, or provinces, among the richest and most industrialized in France, out of a total of 93. Eight million acres of arable land were rendered useless for cultivation. At the rate of 600,000 acres a year, the greater part of these were sowly rehabilitated over a period of ten years, but there still remains an important area which it will never be possible to reclaim; 620 towns and villages were destroyed, and 1,300,000 soldiers were killed, for metropolitan France only.

Thirdly, in 1940, came the Nazi version of German invasion, with the Germans controlling the whole country, either directly or,—what was no better—indirectly, for four years. Contrary to what is sometimes stated, the destruction in this war has already surpassed that of the last. Up to October 1944, 300,000 had been killed on the battlefield or by firing-squads. Seventy-five years have passed since the Bismark invasion. During eleven years of those seventy-five, the Germans have been on French soil, and that is not counting their occupation for forty-eight more years of the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

These facts, I fear, may sound rather monotonous, but they mean a very great deal. They have had a psychological effect on the people of France and on the other peoples that are immediately vulnerable to the German menace. These psychological consequences must, I think, be carefully taken into account, for they explain the difference in outlook towards Germany which often exists between Germany's neighbor nations and those farther removed.

After the First World War, France was obsessed by the danger of a new invasion, but her principal allies did not share her apprehension. With Germany apparently powerless, they simply did not believe in the possibility of a further aggression on her part. Among the other European countries, however, intense awareness of the German threat conditioned their whole political life from 1919 on. Today, there is something final in the outlook of the French people, and I believe. of the other countries Germany has invaded. No more risks can be run. If the risk were run again, I think there would then be the danger of losing France and the rest of Europe not only strategically, as happened in 1940, but spiritually. Need I suggest that this is not merely European squabbling, cats fighting for their lives? What is at stake is the final suppression of a known threat to the peace and security of the whole world.

To throw light on this, one should, I think, study how the watch on the Rhine was considered between the two wars and, in the light of experience, recall some of the illusions that were common then as regards the German menace.

Watch on the Rhine, 1918-1940

The French leaders, Clemenceau and Foch, knew that their country had been bled white, while Germany had not even had war on her soil. They were very sensible of the fact that a vanquished Germany was getting out of the war with the bulk of her resources intact and that, with her old constitutional differences gone, she formed a block of 60 millions more compact than it had ever been before; while France, with her 40 millions, was victorious but devastated. They could not forget that it had needed the united efforts of the whole world to defeat Germany and they wanted to see that this great disproportion of power should not have fatal effects a few years later.

As a technician who had proved his competence, Marshal Foch deemed that there would be no security for France, that is to say, no lasting peace, so long as the Germans, established in the industrial centres on the left bank of the Rhine, had Belgium, Luxemburg and Paris within their grasp. He considered that the one condition necessary to prevent another German aggression was that the German frontier be set on the Rhine.

It has been erroneously published to the contrary, but Marshal Foch did not ask for the annexation of the Rhineland to France. He did not suggest at all grabbing a slice of German territory in the interests of so-called power politics. He wanted the Rhineland to be occupied indefinitely by French, British and American garrisons. He proposed, not a French solution, but a collective solution, the three principal Allies thus being bound together.

This is what Foch said on January 10, 1919:

"The Rhine military frontier, without which the peace aimed at by the coalition cannot be maintained, shall not be a territorial benefit for any nation. It is not a question, in fact, of annexing the left bank of the Rhine, of increasing France or Belgium's territory . . . but to hold securely on the Rhine, the common barrier of security necessary to the League of Democratic Nations. It is not a question of confiding to a single power the guarding of this common barrier, but to ensure by the moral and material co-operation of all democratic powers, the defense of their existence and of their future."

The military frontier of the Rhine was refused by the Allies for two reasons which I should like to recall plainly:

The first was that it was considered unwise and wrong for erroneous moral and humanitarian reasons, to weaken Germany to that extent. The second reason was that it was considered unwise to strengthen France too much.

One should, I believe, evoke today some of the ideas which, stemming from generous idealism, were then current concerning the German menace.

This is what President Wilson said on July 14th, 1917: "We are not enemies of the German people and they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war, and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause."

This is what the London Economist, because of its sense of fair play, wrote on July 5th, 1919: "The German is not naturally warlike, and has now been shown that war does not pay. It is the other States who have yet to learn this lesson, and it is the work of the League of Nations to teach it to them" . . . "It is said that Krupp's establishments have been bought by an American syndicate, and will be turned to the uses of peace."

On October 11th, 1919, the same weekly: "That Germany will recover, we have no doubt; that it is urgently in the interest of Europe that Germany should recover is also beyond doubt. But the road will be long and stony, and even the industrious and soul-chastened Germans will have very sore feet before the end is reached" . . . "We find it in our hearts to wish our late enemies a happy issue out of all their tribulations. Our sympathy has its roots in self-interest. For until Germany recovers, Europe cannot recover. Our people are gradually learning the hardest of lessons—that a rich Germany is much better for us than a poor Germany." Is it necessary to say that we too had our sincere but ill-informed Utopians?

France was then offered a substitute and in exchange for it Clemenceau, against Foch's advice, agreed not to press any further for the Rhine frontier; the substitute was an Anglo-American guarantee of help in the case of a new German aggression.

This guarantee became void because it was not ratified.

The situation was then as follows: having had their land invaded and destroyed, the French renounced what a very great military leader said was a condition of their security, in exchange for a guarantee that came to nothing while their former ally, Russia, like them interested in the evolution of the German threat, was for the time being absent from the international scene.

I think there is no doubt that this episode, which Mr. Churchill has recalled in a speech he made last September, played a determining part in the political history of France between the two wars. It accounts for the desperate struggle which her delegates put up at the League of Nations to ensure her security and to prevent, in Tardieu's words, written in 1921, "French territory from being overrun in a few days". It accounts, to an important degree, for the nervousness of the French people during that period, for the divisions, the political instability. It accounts for the appearance of a feeling of lassitude, of the futility of the tremendous efforts which had been expended in the first World War, efforts which had cost the lives of 1,300,000 French soldiers, that is to say 80 percent more than any other of the Western Allies. It accounts for the appearance in certain circles of a line of thought which said "We cannot get security from the Allies, why not try and settle the matter with the Germans." You recognize this argument. It contributed to the birth of the Vichy regime.

In 1919, the French leaders saw very clearly what was at stake. They saw how strong Germany had been left and how weak were the means which France had at her disposal, but they failed to convince their allies of the reality of the German menace.

If the most solemn warnings were uttered by the French leaders at the peace table, I think there is no doubt that the same firmness and clearsightedness was not shown by their successors. May it be recalled, though, that there were not many countries that sent, as France did, all their male youth to compulsory military service for a minimum period of one to two years, or which spent a heavy percentage of their income in building a line of defence, the Maginot Line, that was to take the place, as best it could, of the Rhine military frontier; while that same country was constantly under the fire of bitter criticism for her alleged militaristic ambitions.

It can be said that these efforts did not avail very much, as was shown in 1940 but, to my mind, that was primarily because the die had been cast in 1919.

Individual testimonials have, of course, small significance and should be acknowledged with care, but I cannot help saying, with regard to the French campaign in 1940, that I had the privilege of serving at that time with a Cavalry armoured regiment, and I must confess I have since read with some astonishment, to say the least, the literature which has flourished on that campaign.

I am thinking particularly of the accounts of roads filled with panic-stricken civilians, of soldiers fighting with their bare fists, and of the hopeless military disorganization as the armies reeled under the shock of modern mechanical warfare.

This is one part of the picture, but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is only one part. The regiment to which I belonged happened to be equipped with brand new first-class tanks. The men of this regiment saw the heels of the German soldiers fleeing before equipment which was as good as their own and manned with the greatest determination, Certainly, we would have needed a great many more of these units and this material, than we had, to check the German onslaught. Still, what was left of them on the 5th of June, 1940, while the Germans had occupied the Channel ports of Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, constituted on the left of the German armies a threat sufficient to compel them to turn south and settle, what Hitler may have thought would be for good, the fate of the French Army. The size of these battles, which is generally not realized, because of the very doubtful books to which I alluded, can best be judged by the fact that during the six weeks of the French campaign, 135,000 soldiers were killed. They took the brunt of the German onslaught on the West and they delayed, at a vital moment, the outbreak of the Battle of Britain.

Watch on the Rhine in the Future

Thanks to the tremendous exertions of her Allies, to which she has contributed to the best of her ability, France is now almost completely free again. Her liberation has miraculously been accomplished in three months after the most brilliant feat of arms and in conditions of speed that surpassed the most optimistic hopes.

With due consideration of the fact that Germany is not yet vanquished and that she may put up a long and hard fight, I come to the question: "Watch on the Rhine in the future."

Some people are saying: "Nothing will be left of Germany after this war and they question the possibility of a German menace in the future."

I am making no attempt to prophesy. My point is only this: we are not willing this time to run any risk. We cannot count any more on problematic controls, on a highly doubtful change of the German soul; we wish to see that Germany loses for good the permanent elements of her explosive dynamism.

I suggest that, relatively, the proportion of forces—or rather the disproportion of forces—between Germany and her neighbours may not be greatly different from what it was before the war. Indeed it may be still more in the favour of Germany. In 1919, the proportion of the German population to the French population was 60 million Germans to 40 million French.

Nobody knows what the German losses are now. It remains that the food and health conditions in Germany during the past four years are not to be compared with those existing in the occupied countries. The Germans have lived and fattened on the spoils of these countries. Up to the present, the war has been fought virtually, as it was 25 years ago, on non-German territory and as Germany is being bombed, so have up to the present the Allied countries.

Besides, if Germany goes on fighting to the last ditch and so, for the first time, suffers heavy losses in her substance when she goes down, she may draw down with her important elements of her neighbours' strength in that, as Mr. Churchill said on December 15th, there are 10 to 12 million foreigners, prisoners or deportees in Germany. These people who are the core of her neighbours' manhood are suffering in their health much more than the Germans, and they are suffering and they will suffer in their flesh from the fighting and the bombing not much less than the German population. Finally, there is no likelihood that the bulk of her industrial potentialities—coal and iron—will be affected in a lasting way by military operations.

But this is not really the essence of the question. The point is, as it was put by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bidault, that "A people like the German people, which draws from success reasons to go on with War, a people which draws from defeat reasons to start war again, threatens us; this people, which carries the germ of invasion and has a sort of ghastly vocation of violence, this people which always resumes the road to conquest without ever being discouraged by any set-back; this people, our neighbour, which was not satisfied by 1815, which was not halted by Sedan, which was not overcome by 1918, this people, which began again after Brunswick, which began again after Blucher, which began again after Moltke, which began again after William the Second, we are resolved not to let it begin again after Hitler."

This is why we have signed a treaty with another country which is as directly threatened as we are: the Soviet Union. This is why we intend to conclude other agreements with Great Britain, with the United States and with the other countries that are threatened as we are.

In the course of the dangers in which Europe because of Germany, has been living, in the past three or four generations, terrible experiences have taught France and Russia the price of not being closely united.

In 1870, France was alone and she succumbed. In 1875, Russian and British diplomatic pressure prevented another aggression. In 1914, the Russian offensive in Prussia was a decisive element of the victory on the Marne. Then the war of attrition on both the Western (Franco-British) front and the Eastern (Russian) front enabled Foch to lead the Allied armies to victory. While Germany had succeeded in 1917 in imposing Draconian conditions on Russia, the victorious conclusion, thanks to the American intervention, of the second battle of France compelled Germany to abandon her spoils.

Between the two wars, the policy of suspicion and hesitation between Paris and Moscow, and their disunion at the decisive moment; was at the source of the German political and military operations that preluded the invasion of France, followed one year later by the invasion of Russia. Then the Russian efforts in inflicting an irreparable wound on the German war machine was an essential condition of the liberation of the French metropolitan territory.

The argument is sometimes upheld that such a treaty and others of its kind will be detrimental to the functioning of the international machinery proposed by Dumbarton Oaks.

It should be pointed out that in the preamble of this treaty, the signatories express their decision "to collaborate with a view to creating an international system of security" and their conviction "of meeting, through the conclusion of an alliance of France and the U.S.S.R., the feelings as well as the interests of the two nations, the demands of war as well as the requirements of peace and of economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims adopted by the United Nations."

Rather than fearing the consequences on Dumbarton Oaks of this kind of pact, I suggest that one consider it in its true light, that is to say, as *an added guarantee* that Germany will not attempt conquest another time.

If World War No. II has happened, is it not because of lack of organization among the countries threatened, which enabled Germany to isolate them and beat them separately one after the other?

The consequences of such a treaty will be, to my mind, to facilitate rather than to impede the functioning of the Dumbarton Oaks Charter. Such agreements may act, I think, as strong threads, which, woven together, will strengthen and reinforce the whole fabric of international security.

This considered, what then do we propose to do with Germany and what form should the Watch on the Rhine take in the future?

The French people, I think, do not approach this matter in a mood of revenge. That stage is passed. They are more interested in the long view of the problem where cold reason takes precedence on feeling. Bismark said: "Indignation is not a political state of mind."

The former clandestine paper *Combat,* now one of the main Parisian journals writes:

"In dealing with a people who have let their leaders damage and degrade their souls, it is still necessary to remember that elements of soul may remain. During the occupation, therefore, we must try to revive, in the German people, thoughts and habits which can be in the interests of Europe as a whole. Crime should not be met with a fond smile or with a lazy belief that a terrible problem does not exist; it should be met with justice, honest dealing, and a determination for reform."

Mr. Bidault tentatively expressed, on his return from Moscow, the views of the French Government on that matter. "As far as we are concerned," he said, "we have clearly and firmly indicated that we mean to deprive Germany once and for all of the territories, which have served her to this day at the same time as an arsenal and as a springboard for aggression on the West, that is to say, essentially, the Rhineland including the Rheno-Westphalian basin.

What will be the status of the regions thus withdrawn from the control of the Reich? We have not settled that at Moscow. Indeed, we are not alone in our interest in this question; we must settle it with all our allies, taking into account our own necessities. As regards Germany, I shall add this: we do not intend to pursue towards our enemy a policy of vengeance which would not be in keeping with our tradition.

In 1914, there was the miracle of the Marne. In 1940, there was the miracle of Britain. Shall we let arise the need for another miracle? I don't think the world can afford it. Let us therefore watch carefully on the Rhine, the German frontier of the United Nations.

"CHINA'S POSITION IN THIS STRUGGLE"

An Address By

DR. YUI MING

Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information in Canada

Chairman: The First Vice-President, Mr. F. L. Clouse

Thursday, January 25, 1945

Mr. Clouse: Since the inception of this Club, the platform has been devoted to the dissemination of knowledge and information pertaining to the world at large and of general interest to all. Last week we had the pleasure of hearing from a French Army officer, scholar and diplomat on the conduct of the War by the French Nation. Today we are to learn, from a very eminent authority, the story of the struggle of the Chinese Nation in resisting the Japanese invader.

Dr. Yui Ming is Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information in Canada. Essentially his work is to interpret China to the Canadian public and through his reports inform the Chinese Government regarding public opinion in Canada particularly with reference to his own country.

Dr. Yui has been in the service of the Chinese Government for the past fifteen years. He started in 1929 as a Secretary to Dr. Sun Fo, the Minister of Railways. In 1930, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Previous to coming to Canada, he was in San Francisco directing the activities of the Chinese Ministry of Information on the Pacific Coast of the United States. In 1931-32 and again in 1937 during the historic battles of Shanghai, he was Director of the Shanghai Office of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1936 he was sent on a mission to Siam as Counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to relieve tension between the Siamese Government and the Chinese residents over the anti-Chinse regulations promulgated by the Siamese Government. In 1938 he was sent to Moscow on a special mission and became Charge d'Affaires of the Chinese Embassy, when negotiations for the greatest quantity of military supplies ever sent to China was successfully completed.

Dr. Yui has been intensely interested in the early establishment of Constitutional Government and the protection of civil liberties in China. He translated into English the first draft of the Constitution which was promulgated by the National Government in 1936.

From 1939 and throughout the Battle of Britain, he was Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in London, where, in those critical days, he shared the trials and tribulations of the British people, enhancing his already deep admiration of the country where he received his education.

Dr. Yui is a graduate of Cornell University and the Law School of Sooshow University, China. He is a member of the Shanghai Bar. He studied the common law at the Harvard Law School, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Balliol College, Oxford University.

It is a great pleasure to present to you Dr. Yui Ming, who will address us on "China's Position in This Struggle."

Dr. Yui Ming: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club of Canada: Since September 18, 1931, when the Japanese attacked Mukden, China has been trading space for time. Today there is not much space left and time presses on.

Chinese conception of time and of progress is humourously illustrated in a story told by the late Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, about a fellow countryman of mine who was called upon to speak before a conference of students in America. "When I took my degree at the University," he said, "I was, like everybody else at that time of life, exceedingly foolish. And the day after I took it, I made a journey from Shanghai, where my University was, into the interior of China, which occupied sixteen days. A month or two back," the speaker went on, "I repeated that journey in eighteen hours; but if I am a fool when I get into the aeroplane, I shall still be a fool when I get out of it; and why do you call it progress to distribute my folly about the earth more rapidly?"

The Japanese militarists—like the Germans in Europe —have spread not mere folly but death and destruction with amazing speed and skill wherever they went.

However, there is something in the make-up of the Chinese mind which refuses to be overwhelmed by the presence of brute force and I think that there is also a certain maturity of mind which enables him to judge contemporary events in the light of a longer historical perspective.

He sees Europe overrun, Rommel knocking at the gates of the Suez, the Japs reaching into India and threatening Australia, the whole coast of China blockaded, her important lines of communications held by the enemy, one inhabited place after the other taken and sacked by the enemy, still he thinks with a mind and heart which urges him to fight on and that victory is not far off.

I saw England in her greatest hour of peril. After Dunkirk and during the Battle of Britain I spent a great deal of time visiting the shelters in London. The London County Council had asked me to describe the struggle of the Chinese people to the residents of the underground shelters. It was part of the city's program to enable the occupants to pass away their long weary nights more cheerfully. The faces which I saw in London during these visits were grim and serious but never sullen. There is such a thing as mustering the soul of a nation to combat evil and win over brute force.

This is the spirit which has enabled the Chinese people to carry on the war so long and which should be remembered in making an estimate of China's position in this struggle.

The Japanese have never been able to understand this. For many years their military intelligence officers roamed disguised, far into the interior of China. They even established a university in Shanghai to train their experts on China. When in 1937 these experts were called upon to answer the questions: "Will China fight," and "If she fought, how long could she fight?" years of study of the Chinese language, piles of statistics and information on China did not produce the right answers for the Japanese. A Japanese, I've always said, can read the Chinese language but he cannot understand the soul of the Chinese people. They are even more baffled by imponderables.

Today our Allies are probing the same questions. Our Allies have taken the risk of China being able to hold out while Hitler is being defeated in Europe. The Japanese took the risk of concentrating large forces in China and penetrating into the interior with the object of knocking China out of the war before help can reach her from India and before the Allies land on the China coast.

What is the position of the Chinese Army as a fighting force in this struggle?

I have seen Chinese soldiers fight in Shanghai on two occasions. In the first battle of Shanghai the Chinese held the Japanese forces for thirty days and in the second battle of Shanghai they held for four months. Some of the Chinese troops who fought in Shanghai in 1937 had marched all the way from Canton, a thousand miles away, and when they arrived in November they were fighting without shoes on the frozen ground. Similarly troops from other provinces joined the battle of Shanghai. There the Chinese army was badly mauled; there were casualties as high as ninety percent but the units kept on fighting.

I can tell you that the same spirit of sacrifice has been maintained up to the present time. In the defence of the City of Hengyang between June 12th and August 8th, 1944, the Tenth Army, consisting of 17,000 troops, fought to the last man and held the enemy for forty-seven days. The Commander who was suffering from dysentery was captured and taken to the Japanese headquarters. The Japanese had estimated that only an army of 50,000 men could have withstood their attack for so long. After two months' detention, the Chinese Commander was able to escape with the aid of guerillas. The defence of Henyang marks the longest siege of any city in the whole China war and shows that the stoic resistance of China's fighting men has been maintained even in the latest campaigns.

There are actually two active fronts in the China theatre today, one in the south and the other in western Yunnan and north Burma.

About nine months ago the enemy started a most vigorous campaign, bringing in tanks, heavy artillery and motorized vehicles to bear on the area along the Peiping-Hankow and the Hankow-Canton railways with the object of establishing a continental route between Korea and Malaya. It will be remembered that the strategic cities of Hankow and Canton had fallen into enemy hands in 1938 but the enemy had never been able to utilize the whole length of the railways.

During the past nine months we have lost more territory to the enemy than was lost since 1938 and the enemy has succeeded in sweeping across these two communication lines, virtually splitting China in two. This must be called a military failure on our part.

The more favourable side of this picture however is that our troops have succeeded in destroying the bridges, tunnels and road beds and have removed the ties along the railways so that it would take the enemy at least one year to rebuild the railways. Meanwhile we have placed at least 400,000 troops behind the enemy lines so it would be highly improbable that the enemy could ever make use of the entire length of the railway.

Another military reverse is the fact that along the areas recently occupied by the enemy are situated the air fields which were built at great cost of material and labour and from which the United States 14th Air Force had been operating. Chinese military headquarters directing operations in the south and east of China are also located in this area. At one time the enemy boldly penetrated into the Province of Kweichow, threatening Kunming which is the important clearing center for supplies coming from India and even Chungking was at one time in danger.

Thus space, which had been on our side, had shrunk to the minimum. Now the Chinese army must hold every inch of territory like a bulldog.

You have probably heard it said that the reverses in recent months were not due to the lack of supplies for the Chinese army. From the beginning of the war until May, 1944, the Chinese ground troops fighting in the east and south of China have received a total of fifty anti-tank guns, sixty artillery pieces and thirty million rounds of rifle and machine-gun ammunition. According to our military spokesman this would last one modern division one week of active combat. I think it is fairer to say that there were many reasons for our military setbacks and that the lack of necessary equipment was an important one. You cannot push a tank back with a bayonet.

One American correspondent who came back from the southern front described the fighting thus: "The Japs were there in force and they were mobile, ahorse, afoot and truck-fed. They could marshall superiority in numbers at any point they chose. The Chinese were exhausted. Their guns were worn out. their tanks were old, their machine guns and rifles had been reduced in number for lack of replacement and were practically worn out."

On the other hand, Chinese troops fighting on the North Burma front who are better equipped have been able to clear the enemy out of this area. The news has been very good. British and Indian troops are marching on to Mandalay and the Chinese troops fighting from both ends of the road have made a junction. Engineers and workers building the road from both ends are in sight of each other and already a large American convoy of much needed equipment has reached Myitkyina. Running parallel to the road are oil pipe-lines which are bringing in vital fuel from Calcutta into China. Portions of the pipe-line have already been in operation and have enabled the American super-fortresses to range all over the Eastern skies, bombing Tokyo, Formosa, Java.

On the road near Mandalay, Allied planes are roaring like thunder into China. Here, British, American, Indian, Burmese and Chinese have struggled together for a common cause. If Kipling were alive he would say that East ceases to be East and West ceases to be West and that we are fighting for one world.

I believe that the darkest hour in our military history is just around the corner. We are greatly pressed for time and space. On the one hand we must hold the enemy in the south; on the other. we must push supplies in to replace worn-out equipment and drive the enemy out.

We must think of Japan not as an Island Empire, but a Continental Empire and that the core of her fighting forces are stationed in China. Our High Command expects bitter fighting in Malaya, Indo-China, and in China, and if that is true, the role of the Chinese army is important. Recent changes at Chungking in the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Conscription indicate that the Chinese Government is accepting the responsibility of its recent military failures and are taking steps to improve the treatment of officers and men in the services.

I have described the development of the Chinese army under one national command, how provincial armies and commanders formerly more or less independent of the National Government have buried their differences and joined the national struggle. Provincialism—a traditional source of disunity in China—has practically died out; but another source of disunity has arisen in the form of Communism.

The political differences between the Government and the Communists are of long standing and more complicated than mere differences between political parties. The Communist party in China maintains an independent army, preaches an ideology which is alien to the established traditions of Chinese society, makes its own laws, issues its own currency and postage. It is virtually "a sovereign state within a sovereign state".

The National Government has been accused of hoarding supplies and immobilizing an army to blockade the Communists. The troops of the National Government have been meeting all the major frontal attacks launched by the Japanese army since 1937, and with only a mere trickle of supplies coming in from outside there's really not much hoarding to speak of. The army in southern Shensi, which is so irritating to the Communists, has been there facing Japanese troops across the Yellow River since 1938. Withdrawal of this army would open the route over which every conquering army has marched into Chungking and Chengtu since the dawn of Chinese history.

At the risk of over-simplification, we may say that, in general, Chungking demands unity while Yenan demands democracy. Chungking says that unity of command in war must come first while democracy will come after the war. Yenan says that democracy is the best means to achieve unity.

For the last several months negotiations have been going on between the National Government and the Communist party. The terms which the Government has offered and which the Communist representative is bringing back to Yenan are not yet revealed. There seems now a greater hope for both unity and democracy. At this juncture in history the maintenance of national unity outweighs any and every other consideration. However, I repeat, there seems now a greater hope for both unity and democracy.

Let us turn to the problem of democracy. China has never claimed to be a full-fledged democracy. Democracy is a plant of slow growth. China has just begun to initiate democracy to no less than 450,000,000 people, Democracy, like knowledge, cannot be thrust down the throats of the people. Neither can it be denied those who wish to have it. The Chinese people will be able to see to it that what they have fought for in the struggle will not be denied them. I have this faith in the Chinese people.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, after his bitter experience in introducing constitutional government in China, outlined the progressive introduction of self-government in three stages. First is the period of unification by military force and the consolidation of the army under one national government; then there is the stage of political tutelage in which the Kuomintang party would rule in trust; this period was to end with the calling of the People's Congress and the adoption of the Constitution and election of the President.

Chungking has announced that, instead of waiting until after the war, it favours the convocation of the People's Congress in 1945. This move is significant in two respects. In the first place, it answers the wishes of those who have advocated the immediate introduction of constitutional government to insure democracy in China. This step will also provide a solution for Communist controversy. The Communist party will be able under constitutional government to play a role as a legitimate political party in opposition. The People's Congress is to be composed of about 1640 delegates of whom 1200 will be elected directly by the people. The National Government will nominate 240 delegates, while 200 members of the Kuomintang Party will sit at the First People's Congress.

Of the 1200 delegates directly elected by the people, 665 will be elected according to a regional representation basis, that is, according to the size of population of the various provinces; 380 will be elected according to an occupational representation basis; and 155 will be elected according to a special representation basis, that is, according to the number of delegates to be elected from special electoral units according to law, namely, from the Northeast, Mongolia, Tibet, Overseas Chinese, and the army. The major function of the First People's Congress is to enact a constitution and to decide upon a date for its promulgation and enforcement.

Thus China will soon complete the first two stages of her revolution which began many years ago. This revolution aims to transform a country of semi-colonial status into a great power, a geographical conglomeration of provinces into a national state, a medieval agrarian society into a modern industrial nation, an autarchy of twenty centuries into a democracy. The revolution is still going on and it will be going on for decades to come. We are solving at the same time the problems of the Renaissance, the Reformation and Industrial Revolution in one century. It will not be completed until the people are able to enjoy the blessings of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The source of many of China's ills is economic. She is suffering from inflation as well as invasion with all the attendant evils. The economic front which we have to face is no less serious than the military. Inflation in China is caused by the scarcity of goods and the abundance of paper money.

However, efforts are being made to double or treble the production of war supplies inside China this coming year. The establishment of a War Production Board as a result of the Mission of Mr. Donald Nelson, has already shown encouraging results. The whole governmental machinery at Chungking has been geared to increasing war production. New machines and strategic metals not available inside China must be sent in.

Even before the war, China had to import rice and other necessities from areas now under enemy occupation. We have been fortunate that during the war years, we have been favoured with good harvests. The farmers have long known how to utilize the soil to obtain high yields. It is in the field of industrial goods that we experience the greatest shortages. This is due to fact that China does not have the industrial basis so necessary to carry on modern warfare. Those factory installations which have been moved to the interior are being utilized to the fullest extent. Factories, dug several miles into the mountain caves to avoid enemy attack, are producing cloth and supplies for the armed forces and civilian needs. Still there are many shortages.

The National Budget last year was fixed at fifty billions, Chinese dollars. At the official rate this was about two and one-third billions, Canadian dollars. The rapid rise in cost and new items of expenditures such as the building of air fields and communication projects increased the actual expenditures at the end of the year to seventy-three billions.

Previous to the war 70 percent of the Government's revenue was derived from indirect taxes; customs and taxes on consumption goods. Enemy occupation has cut off 70 percent of those taxes. In recent years direct taxation of income, inheritance, excess profit and land tax in kind cover 40 to 50 percent of expenditures. The Government is now taking measures to increase direct taxes and narrow down the gap between revenues and expenditures.

The general price index in many parts of China as of June, 1944, is more than four hundred times the prewar level. This has caused considerable hardship on those having fixed salaries and has wiped out those who had savings. One favourable sign, however, is that during the last six months the general index numbers of prices have remained steady and almost stable. With the opening of the Burma Road a downward trend is expected.

I asked Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, head of the British Economic Mission to China in 1935, what he thought about the inflation in China. After a moment of reflection, he said that he thought that it was a marvel to him how the Chinese had been able to carry on so well as it was. He then referred to the economic situation in Greece and thought that this was one of the consequences of war and invasion.

Well, after what I have said about the military, political and economic difficulties of my country, can you wonder that many who go to China without good philosophical armour would be quickly disillusioned?

If I were a physician diagnosing the case of China, I would say that she has been weakened by ills of long standing. She has absorbed many body wounds in the severest ordeal of battle and is a bit shakened up, but she's still on her feet. Her heart is good, lungs strong, vitals intact. Like a good patient, she has taken time to think and examine her failures. She is mustering strength for the battle ahead, fully conscious of the responsibilities which must inevitably fall upon her. Will she be able to rise to the occasion? I think we can expect her position to improve in every respect in the coming year.

China's position in Asia is a great deal like that of France in Europe. Before France was liberated, there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the Government in power. Today the French army is making an important contribution to victory, and provisions are being made to equip a strong French army. A strong French army means security for you and for Europe. A strong Chinese army will mean early victory in Asia and security for the world. I am quite sure that given the tools, the Chinese Government, army and people will be able to play the role expected of her and make important contributions to the Allied cause.

Furthermore, we believe that it is necessary to our freedom and security that the militarists of Japan be completely disarmed and discredited and that China be in a position—with the help of our Allies—to keep Japan from endangering the peace of the world again.

The position of China in this struggle must be looked at not only from the point of view of merely defeating Japan, but also in keeping the peace. The forces in China, which are working for a politically unified, a strong and democratic China, should be supported by her Allies.

There is no question in my mind of China becoming a democracy. We must understand that the majority of the Chinese people, long before our Allies joined in this struggle, have been fighting against militarism and feudalism inside China, as well as militarism and fascism in Japan. The establishment of a democratic government along the lines of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's three principals, national independence, political democracy and a decent livelihood for all, has been one of our major aims in this struggle.

"LOOKING FORWARD TO THE POST-WAR WORLD"

An Address By

THE HONOURABLE RAY ATHERTON
United States Ambassador to Canada

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, February 1, 1945

Mr. Conquergood: The Empire Club extends a most cordial welcome today to our guest of honor, The Honourable Ray Atherton, United States Ambassador to Canada.

We have so much of common interest with the people of the United States, in business and social affairs, that we value them not only as rich neighbors, but as our most intimate and kindly friends as well.

We have so many things in common that in many ways we are very much alike. We sprang from the same origins, we speak the same language, we read the same books, magazines, and other publications. We see many of the same motion pictures and listen to many of the same radio programs. We are allies in the same war, fighting for the same way of life. The long boundary line that separates us constitutes in the main a separation in the realm of political affairs. If the guiding star of the United States' political thought is "Liberty", we, on this side of the line, are equally intent on the guiding star of "Freedom", which is certainly set in the same constellation. Whenever. therefore, a distinguished representative of the United States addresses us, he is assured not only of an attentive but also an appreciative and receptive audience.

Our guest speaker today qualifies as a distinguished representative of the United States; first, because in his official capacity he occupies the highest position in the gift of his Government, and secondly, because by training and experience, he has earned a personal right to the honor.

Mr. Atherton is a graduate of Harvard University and one of a great list who have brought distinction to the cultural training of this great college. He studied for four years in France, and has represented his country in China, Greece, Great Britain, Bulgaria, and Denmark. With such a background of varied experience, he was warmly welcomed on his arrival in Canada in 1943. In his leisure hours, I gather from a recent newspaper story, he finds relaxation in the pursuit of art.

I have the honor of presenting The Honourable Ray Atherton, United States Ambassador to Canada, who will address us on "Looking Forward to the Postwar World."

THE HONOURABLE RAY ATHERTON: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: At about this same time last year it was my privilege to speak in Toronto before the Canadian Club. That was my first appearance before a Toronto audience. Since then I have spoken in some twenty Canadian cities. Returning to Toronto, I find myself somewhat in the position of the traditional road-company actor who is given to judging cities only by the audiences' reactions to his performances. I say, however, that judged by *any* criterion Toronto has always seemed to me a fine place, and I am delighted to have the opportunity of spending a few days here again this winter.

Much has happened during this last year, in the world as well as in Toronto. In Toronto you have had some winter weather, for one thing. Local pride compels me to state that our snow banks in Ottawa are still a little higher than yours, but, to be fair, it must be admitted that, as usual, a lot of our Ottawa snow is left over from last winter.

When I spoke in Toronto last year the historic conferences of Cairo and Teheran were events of recent history and the famous Joint Four-Nation Declaration issued at Moscow the previous October was in everyone's mind. International security and the principles of postwar world organization formed a substantial part of my remarks. This year again I feel that such ideas take precedence over any other thoughts that any of us may have, and it is my intention to discuss these world ideas with you once more.

If you should be kind enough, and hardy enough, to invite me to address you five years from now you would probably find me still dwelling on the same subject, because I am profoundly convinced that no other field of study so earnestly requires our closest attention. We are all citizens of the world now, and citizens at a time when the duties of citizenship are heavier than at at any previous moment in the world's history.

Last year, as I say, our minds were on the Moscow Declaration. It is a measure of the progress achieved in the intervening twelve months that today our minds are on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. We are contemplating no longer a simple statement of principles but a set of specific proposals, carefully prepared for submission to and consideration by the United Nations. Yet the principles of the Moscow Declaration have not been forgotten; they have endured; they have grown stronger in the minds and souls of men all over the world.

It may be well to refresh our memories concerning the wording of that all-important document. In Moscow, in October, 1943, the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China united in asserting "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." Dumbarton Oaks was, essentially, a conference held to implement this assertion of international policy. It was one step further—one long step further—along the path to international security.

We have reached a stage, now in the early days of 1945, when many men of good will in all parts of the world are growing impatient at the speed with which we are travelling this path. Voices are beginning to be raised, questioning the ultimate feasibility of genuine world co-operation. After five and a half years of the worst war in history it is natural that men should lose patience, that some should even lose hope for the future. But, of all the peoples of the world, we in North America should be the very last to lose our patience, the very last to lose hope. For Canada and for the United States our own history supplies us with the complete answer to scepticism concerning the feasibility of world organization, of international co-operation for peace.

Most great nations are composed of diverse groups of people welded together over the centuries into a unified whole, but in North America we have uniquely achieved federation through a peaceful, deliberate, and conscious process. The Constitution of the United States and the British North America Act stand alone as monuments to the invincible will for union displayed by independent and divergent groups, by dissimilar if not hostile colonies. These great victories over mutual jealousy were won a long time ago—one hundred and fifty-six years ago and seventy-eight years ago, respectively.

Many of us have forgotten the circumstances of those earlier days. It is, therefore, a rewarding and a most instructive pursuit to cast our minds back to the beginnings of our North American federal systems, to the times when the foundations of national unity for both great countries were laid. If we do this we shall find that nearly all the problems now causing dismay in connection with the prospects for world co-operation were present in almost greater force in respect to state and provincial co-operation; we shall find that the arguments of defeatism were almost stronger in 1789 and 1867 than they are in 1945. Studying these things, and remembering these things, and at the same time being conscious of the unprecedented success both our nations have made of nationhood, how can we North Americans fail to view the future world scene not only with hope but with courage and with a sure confidence?

The faint-hearted are fond of complaining that the peoples of the earth are so widely scattered and know so little about each other that genuine world understanding is impossible. But let's think back. The Nova Scotian fisherman today knows more about Russia and Australia than his great-grandfather knew about Toronto in 1867. The Vermont farmer today knows more about China and Norway than his forebears knew about the plantations of Virginia in 1789. These things are true because of the tremendous improvements in transportation and communication that have occurred in recent years. Almost over night the miracle of the airplane has brought Toronto as close to Calcutta as it was to Kingston a century ago. Radio, moving pictures, the spread of the printed word—through these media the earth's family of two billion people can now study itself and learn to understand itself far better than could the four million colonists of the Atlantic seacoast a hundred and fifty years ago. Yes, to the pessimists of today I reply that their pessimism is far less well-founded than that of their gloomy ancestors of 1789 and 1867.

"But nations are jealous", the dour realist declares. "They are mutually suspicious. They are afraid of helping one another lest they hurt themselves."

To such a man I would read a description by John Fiske of the state of affairs in my country while we were struggling through that twilight period of the Articles of Confederation.

> "A single instance, which occurred early in 1787, may serve as an illustration. The City of New York had long been supplied with firewood from Connecticut, and with butter and cheese, chickens and garden vegetables, from the thrifty farms of New Jersey. This trade, it was observed, carried thousands of dollars out of the city and into the pockets of detested

> Yankees and despised Jerseymen. It was ruinous to domestic industry, said the men of New York. . . . Acts were accordingly passed, obliging every Yankee sloop which came down through Hell Gate, and every Jersey market boat which was rowed across from Paulus Hook to Cortlandt Street, to pay entrance fees and obtain clearances at the custom-house, just as was done by ships from London or Hamburg; and not a carload of Connecticut firewood could be delivered at the back door of a country house in Beekman Street until it should have paid a heavy duty. . . . . The New Jersey legislature made up its mind to retaliate. The City of New York had lately bought a small patch of ground on Sandy Hook, and had built a lighthouse there. . . . New Jersey gave vent to her indignation by laying a tax of $1800 a year on it. Connecticut was equally prompt. At a great meeting of business men, held at New London, it was unanimously agreed to suspend all commercial intercourse with New York. Every merchant signed an agreement, under penalty of $250 for the first offence, not to send any goods whatever into the hated state for a period of twelve months."

While I do not wish to imply that things were as bad as this in your country before Confederation, I have read enough Canadian history to know that many of the delegates who attended the historic conference in Quebec in October of 1864 went there in fear and trembling. I have read enough Canadian history, and I have also visited the Maritimes.

Which brings me to a very important point. Provincial rights with you and States rights with us are a source of much good-humored sparring and likewise of much real concern. Often one would surmise, from listening to the debate, that these are unique sources of friction, peculiar to North America or to our system of government. Actually they are merely typical symptoms of the universal tendency for smaller groups of people within a larger group to assert their individuality. This decentralizing instinct can be traced beyond Provincial or State lines. In our State Legislatures the representatives of individual cities and towns are constantly up in arms to protest that their local rights are being subordinated to general State welfare. In every city council sit aldermen grimly determined that the city as a whole shall take no advantage of Ward 6. Even within Ward 6, Walnut Street may complain that Maple Avenue gets better ash-removal service, and even on Maple Avenue the north side of the street can grow bitter over the delivery of the mail first on the south side of the street. Lastly, within families themselves the minority element (normally the husband) has been known to assert if not to defend Provincial rights.

No, the problem of Provincial and States rights is not peculiar to this continent nor to the federal system of government. It is a human trait. And, in the long run, it is not a bad trait, if it is successfully moderated as it has been with us. When I left Prince Edward Island last summer they asked me if I were going "back to Canada", but I wasn't disturbed, because I know that the State Legislature of Vermont at almost every session passes a resolution of advice to its Senators in Washington that reads more like a letter of instruction to an Ambassador than like the opinion of a unit of the American government.

We enjoy these small shouts of sturdy defiance within our family circle. Sometimes they grow loud, and learned observers tremble and fear for the future of the federal system, but remembering John Fiske's description of New York City in 1787, I am not personally worried. And remembering that our system has been strong enough to produce the present North American war effort, unparalleled in the history of the world, I cannot take too seriously the "threat" of the Provincial or States rights issue.

May I go back for a moment to what I have called the "twilight period" of the Articles of Confederation. From 1781 to 1789 the thirteen American colonies struggled along under this loosely-knit system of confederation, which produced commercial and monetary chaos and, as Beard says, actual "threats of social dissolution". This was our transition stage, our period of growing pains. We did not leap directly from the status of separate British colonies to our present Constitution. There was a similar transition stage in Canada's evolution. From 1841 to 1867 Upper and Lower Canada experimented with a legislative union, and by the end of that period the system had so badly broken down that, had no external causes been present, some new form of government would have had to be devised for this region of the country.

I emphasize this evolutionary process, this trial-and-error method which we both followed in building the permanent structure of our governments, because I believe we have here the answer to those who are impatient with the pace of our progress towards world co-operation. If Canada experimented for a quarter of a century with partial confederation, and if the United States had to learn through the bitter experience of the Articles of Confederation the necessity for a real Constitution, how can we expect all the nations of the world to rush at once into a perfect, all-embracing organization? Endless discussion took place, endless meetings were held, endless compromises were effected before Canada and the United States were born. Yet today certain commentators appear to believe that the nations of the whole world can meet in a hotel in some large city, talk for two weeks, and produce the final draft of international Utopia. We North Americans are the *realists* who know what a long hard struggle successful co-operation entails, even as we are *idealists* who know how inevitable that success is.

We know, too, that disappointments are ahead of us. There was far from universal approval in either country when union was first proposed. New York voted overwhelmingly against ratification of the Constitution, for example, when that document was first submitted for adoption, and in two other of the largest States, Virginia and

Massachusetts, the vote was uncomfortably close. In Canada, as you know, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland withdrew from the negotiations leading up to the British North America Act; the Government of New Brunswick which had participated in the Quebec conference was thrown out of office; and indignant protest swept Nova Scotia.

Yes, MacDonald and Cartier and Tilley and Tupper knew their disappointments. The fathers of the American Constitution—the authors of "The Federalist"—knew theirs, too. But Canada was born and the United States was born. We shall know disappointments, bitter ones, in our great task of building a world organization for peace. *But that world organization will be born.*

I have described this great business of drawing together as an evolutionary process, and a process always accompanied by disappointments. It is also inevitably achieved through compromise. The problems which had to be solved through compromise in 1789 and 1867 were fully as grave for our forefathers as are the problems of today for us. Tiny Prince Edward Island and tiny Rhode Island, for instance, stood in awe of their neighboring giants, Upper Canada and New York, quite as frankly as small nations today stand in awe of mightier ones.

With us the Senate was especially designed to provide protection for the interests of small States that would be hopelessly overwhelmed by a completely proportional system of government. The statesmanlike and effective compromises which were embodied in your British North America Act are too well known to you all to require comment here. My point is that it ill becomes any North American to be critical of proposals for a world organizatino simply on the grounds that compromises are involved. We, who live in houses of compromise, should not cast stones. And we should remember, every day of our lives, what magnificent houses compromise has built for us.

In erecting the mansions of a world organization for peace we of North America claim no unique genius as architects, but we have every right to claim experience as architects. Over the decades and over the centuries we have served our apprenticeship at this trade. And the houses we have built have stood against the elements.

The days ahead will be filled with dangers and with fears, of a different sort from those we have faced since 1939. The world of free men must face those days with the same caurage that it faced the horrible menace of German and Japanese attack. For us in North America a special comfort exists, a special truth has been revealed, a special role is cast. Humbly, but confidently it is for us to make known our faith in world co-operation, based on our experience in national co-operation. We are not wiser than our neighbors, but we have the advantage of having travelled for long and splendid years the path that the entire world is now about to set its foot upon.

The United States and Canada believe in world co-operation because they believe in themselves. It is not with them a theory. It is with them a projection of the deepest and most vital fact of their national lives, an application of their truest idea.

Coming back to Toronto this winter, and remembering the circumstances of my last year's visit, I am warmed and heartened by the evidence I find everywhere that these things are believed here. I have found the same evidence all over Canada, from Sydney to Victoria. And I have found the same evidence in my own country.

The American people determined in 1789 that there should be a United States of America. The Canadian people determined in 1867 that there should be a Canada. Every true North American is equally determined this year of 1945 that there shall be a world organization of the United Nations, and that it shall share the indelible pages of history with our own beloved countries.

"LONDON TELLS THE WORLD"

AN ADDRESS BY

BYNG WHITTEKER

BBC RADIO COMMENTATOR

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, February 8, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: How many times have you sat in front of your radio waiting, before you go to bed, for the last minute news of the war and the world? You hear the band of the Grenadier Guards swing into the strains of "Imperial Echoes." Then the voice of the announcer, "This Is London Calling," and you are told that the BBC will present "Radio News Reel direct from London."

You listen to the recital of events, the messages of various speakers and finally turn off the switch on your radio. You may comment on the news or views given, or on the quality of the reception at the time, but you accept as a matter of course the human side of the presentation.

In the operation of radio, there are many employees of whom little is heard. First, there is the technical group, the engineers who operate the involved radio equipment. There are the news gathering services, who bring the news to the microphone, and, lastly, there is the group of editors and announcers who prepare and present the information so that as wide a service as possible can be presented in the time allowed. They tell of the expoits of our forces, of the heroism of our men, of the hopes for the future of the struggling and oppressed peoples, but of themselves they say nothing.

The Empire Club today has the pleasure of welcoming a young man whose name is familiar to us on the BBC "Radio News Reel," but whose voice may be altered a little because we can hear him in person rather than through the transformation of a short-wave broadcast.

Mr. Byng Whitteker is a Canadian, who started his radio career in 1934 in Kitchener through Station CKCR. Later, he moved to North Bay, and, in 1937, joined the staff of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He has spent some time in Windsor, Ottawa and Toronto. In July of 1943, the BBC asked the CBC for the loan of a member of its staff, and our guest speaker was sent in response to that invitation. He will be returning to London in the near future to resume his post.

I have very much pleasure in presenting Mr. Byng Whitteker, of the CBC and BBC, who will speak to us on the subject "London Tells the World."

MR. BYNG WHITTEKER: Thank you Mr. President, Gentlemen: May I say that I am deeply honored by the invitation to speak to you this afternoon—an invitation which I accepted with much trepidation. I accepted finally when it became clear that I could confine my remarks to broadcasting.

Broadcasting is a business or institution, if you like, which is of my generation. The search for general wisdom and specific detailed knowledge on any subject is the work of many years or even the greater part of a lifetime. However, broadcasting, while ripening quickly into some form of maturity, still retains some of the gloss of the very new, and the number of men who can say, "I've been broadcasting for twenty years" is decidedly limited in any country. Therefore I hope to be able to interest you in what I should like to call informally "an appreciation of the background effort in broadcasting news" and to tell you something of the news gathering facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which I believe to be more comprehensive than any other service, that is, broadcasting service.

Your President graciously mentioned in his introduction some of the difficulties which are encountered in day-to-day broadcasting of news and, as I've been working with the BBC's "Radio News Reel" for some nineteen months, the difficulties, disappointments, the disillusionments, the blighted hopes and ideas are sufficiently fresh in mind to temper the recognized successes.

"Radio News Reel" is an integral part of BBC's news service, a service which broadcasts some two hundred and fifty news bulletins in at least 48 basic languages every twenty-four hours. I think you'll agree that eleven news broadcasts every hour, many of them fifteen minutes in length is a substantial output. "Radio News Reel" itself goes on the air five times in twenty-four hours. There is a programme for the Pacific audience, for the Far Eastern audience, for the listeners in Africa, and two broadcasts to North America. Although there is no commercial broadcasting in Britain I feel the BBC won't object to my mentioning that the North American "News Reels" can be heard at 7.30 p.m. and 11 p.m. Eastern War Time. Directly connected with those five "Radio News Reels" are perhaps one hundred and fifteen men and women and correspondents. Indirectly, but nevertheless vitally connected, are several hundred more who determine the policy, handle administrative details and pamper or at least cater for the sometimes temperamental people directly concerned with broadcasting the programme.

For a programme, such as "Radio News Reel," you must have four things. The technical facilities, the news, the means of gathering the news, and the means of assimilating the news for broadcast presentation.

Our facilities, that is "Radio News Reel's," have been long, rigorously and thoroughly prepared during some twenty-five years of British broadcasting; needless to say they have expanded greatly since the beginning of the war. Therefore when "Radio News Reel" was proposed in 1940 after the invasion of France, technical facilities were available to broadcast to the most remote sections of the world. And through the air channels available to the programme went the stories of Britain and the blitz, detailed descriptions of a defiant people, at whom the world marvelled, praised, sometimes pitied for their sufferings, but even with radio's vivid and intimate pictures never quite fully appreciated. At least that's my personal feeling.

Even now, at this very moment, few people outside of Britain appreciate or understand the tragedy, the effort, the hardship of living during the past five years. I've spoken to several friends since I arrived in Canada from London about three weeks ago, friends who had also just returned, and when I asked, "What's it like to be home?" almost to a man I've gotten the reply, "People here don't seem to know what's going on, I want to go back." And those friends of mine are Canadians, as I am, and will live in Canada after the war—we woudn't want to live anywhere else.

But I'm here to talk of "Radio News Reel." Well, the facilities for broadcasting were available and then came the question of the news. That, too, was available and is still at hand, provided by defeats, victories, armies, navies, air forces, and men and women—men like Churchill, Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Montgomery, and even the lowest types provide news—Hitler, Mussolini and their Japanese associates. But news must be reported "on the spot," as we say, and men must be selected to report that news. These reporters, or war correspondents, have to be men with the background and training and experience to qualify them for unequalled responsibility, for from the war correspondent, radio or press, comes the first-hand reports which influence and direct public thinking to an amazing extent.

The majority of these correspondents are or were journalists. With several exceptions radio has yet to produce any really great correspondents. That's not the fault of radio, as many journalists have been developed into exceptionally fine broadcasters—I need only mention the name of Matthew Halton of the CBC. Matt Halton was a journalist of international reputation before the war; then came his assignment by the CBC and in four years he's become one of the finest news broadcasters to be heard anywhere. Radio news before the war had yet to be developed to its present-day position of detail, intimacy and scope. So from the ranks of the journalist came most of the correspondents and I speak now primarily of the BBC.

Then came the problem of broadcasting from the battlefield, from a ship at sea, from an aircraft hundreds of miles from its base, all positions perhaps a thousand miles from a normal radio studio. Portable recording equipment was a partial answer and you've heard the voices of men in bombers over Berlin, you've heard the roar of artillery, the rattle of machine-guns within yards of the enemy and you've heard the enemy's answer. This was made possible by the portable recorders which radio engineers operated under unbelievable conditions. Then to transmit these recordings from the battlefield to the studio came the portable shortwave transmitters which move in the wake of advancing armies. A correspondent and his engineer get their story often right at the front line, then travel back to the portable transmitter, or if they're lucky to a permanent one such as Brussels, and the story is forwarded to the BBC studios in London.

Now that, I'm afraid, is rather sketchy, but in the preparation of "Radio News Reel" we know that somehow the men get their stories to London and then our work begins. Often we don't realise what they've been up against until they arrive back on furlough. Frequently correspondents have been greeted with "What happened to you on such and such a day? That was a terrific story—what were you doing? Having a sleep somewhere?" And often when the correspondent explains we apologise and feel just a little humble.

I'd like to tell you of one such incident. BBC war correspondent Robert Barr was attached to the American First Army when the Germans began their offensive in the Ardennes. He was somewhere very near to the Front, to the left of the salient in Belgium. Immediately that he had the first reports of the German attack he hurried by jeep and hitchhiking to Brussels to get the news back to London. There was a portable transmitter behind the First

Army but he was closer to Brussels and besides reception was likely to be better in London from the stronger transmitter. So to Brussels he went, broadcast his story and started back immediately for the First Army sector intending to use the portable transmitter for his next despatch.

In London we waited, hoping that perhaps within twelve hours Robert Barr would come up again with more detail. We waited for three days. No one knew what had happened and then after three days of nothing from a correspondent who should have been able to give us excellent first-hand reports of the fighting, that was making headlines everywhere, we got a report from Robert Barr. And this is what happened. He returned to the Front from Brussels, headed for the location of his portable transmitter only to find that it wasn't there. The Germans had advanced rather swiftly, the transmitter had been moved. And so for three days our correspondent travelled about, sometimes in and out of enemy lines, with the greatest news story of the week in his hand, asking everybody he saw "Have you seen a portable radio transmitter?" Of course no one had, as they were much too busy with more serious affairs.

However, the stories, the despatches, the reports, the descriptions, the recordings of battles and political comment eventually arrive in London. Many come by shortwave radio. Some recordings are sent by aircraft, some delivered by hand, a few are lost and others are spoiled by static in transmittion. But to "Radio News Reel" they come. From correspondents with every Allied army in France, Holland and Belgium, from men with the Fifth and Eighth Armies in Italy, from Greece and Yugoslavia, from Turkey and the Near East, from correspondents in Moscow and Sweden, from the Fourteenth Army in Burma, from the Allied navies, from the air forces, and from almost everywhere where something is happening, spoken description or comment comes to "Radio News Reel." In almost any given day there is enough material for a programme of at least an hour's duration.

Then the staff of "Radio News Reel" goes to work. This story from Holland, "Canadian Army advancing," looks good for Canada—listed for the North American edition. Here's a despatch on General Clark in Italy—North America. Here's a story on the Ghurkas in the Eighth Army—send it in to General Overseas,—and so on through the day and the night. Working on "Radio News Reel" you're never conscious of yesterday, today or tomorrow. You think only of a continuous sequence of programmes, otherwise someone is sure to start a discussion beginning with "If it's two o'clock in northern Burma and early morning in Moscow, what time is it in the Solomon Islands?"

"Radio News Reel" is broadcast at 8.30 in the morning, 3.30 in the afternoon, 8.30 in the evening and the North American editions go out at 12.30 a.m. and 4 a.m. London times. As script writer and narrator for the North American editions, I report at 7 p.m. usually to meet one of the day staff or a director, who brings me up-to-date on the day's happenings, tells me what background information has filtered through, how many rumours have spread during the day, and then says, "You've got lots of material, some of it's bad, some of its good," and with that leaves a producer and myself to edit the already condensed material. There's no point in starting to write a programme several hours before its goes on the air, as the capture of a town or another advance may outdate everything. Eventually, however, the programmes go on the air frequently with V-bombs providing an obligato outside the soundproof and possibly bomb-proof studio.

These remarks of mine have been titled, by someone else," "London Tells the World." I should like to add to that title two words, "London Tells the World the Truth." In any experience with the BBC's news division I have never heard a statement retracted and we have not had to go on the air and correct a previous broadcast unless of course some unavoidable slip had crept in. Over the war years a reputation for truth, honesty and integrity has been developed by the BBC which is, to say the least, most enviable, and in London you occasionally hear someone saying, "I don't believe it—it wasn't on the news this morning."

If any doubt ever existed in anybody's mind, as it must have in Dr. Goebbels', the fact has been established once and for all that the only lasting type of propaganda is truth. Millions of Europeans who have listened in most difficult circumstances for several years came to rely entirely on the BBC for official information. However, there is a point to broadcasting falsehoods, as a turn of events may prove the falsehood to be true. The Germans are as usual, experts in this. Goebbels said for some days that the Russian army had crossed the Oder River at the nearest point to Berlin. Undoubtedly it wasn't true when he first broadcast it, but later he had the opportunity of saying that the advance had been repulsed. However, in a case such as this the turn of events proves that a falsehood may be converted into truth, for even the vociferous Doctor probably realized that if the Russians hadn't already crossed the Oder they were likely to very soon. A German newspaper described BBC broadcasts as a spiritual danger, intellectual poison, and a weapon more paralysing and deadly than cannon and machine-gun and yet the BBC has tried to report the war even to the Germans in a straight-forward objective manner.

I'm reminded here of a very humorous cartoon which appeared in a London paper, humorous at least to a person working in the BBC. Shortly before D-Day an official spokesman from General Eisenhower's headquarters broadcast detailed instructions to the underground forces in the occupied countries. You may have heard some of the instructions on "Radio News Reel" as we rebroadcast most of them to North America. Now this cartoon shows an announcer sitting at a microphone, with a frantic, harassed individual dashing into the studio, for the announcer was reading, "Now: tonight: every able-bodied man should destroy all bridges, set fire to army installations, barricade the roads, blow up the factories, hamper troop movements." And the frantic individual is shouting, "No! No! Not here—this is the Home Service."

Another cartoon has to do with John Nixon's many broadcasts from Athens. You've heard some of his despatches, I'm sure, and often they were gathered under trying circumstances. He was frequently transported through the streets to his make-shift studio in an armoured car. When such security was not available he ran the gauntlet in a jeep to broadcast by candlelight behind shuttered windows, which, if open, were used as targets. Well, this cartoon drawn in some detail by a member of the staff pictures John Nixon at his microphone in Athens broadcasting to London. The window is open and leaning through it is a bearded guerilla fondling a rifle, obviously loaded and about to go off while pointed in Nixon's direction. The caption of the cartoon is "ELAS, EAM in Athens."

International radio, in which "Radio News Reel" plays an effective part is now in the first decade of its development. The BBC began broadcasting rather timidly in three European languages shortly after Munich. Now it broadcasts daily in 48 basic languages with almost as many dialects in addition; for instance, there is Portugese for Portugal and Portugese for Brazil, Spanish for Spain and Spanish for the countries of South America. As an instrument of war broadcasting it has been invauable, as an instrument of peace broadcasting it can be, and I think will be, one of the greatest forces for peace in the postwar world. It is one of the most effective instruments in the interpretation of a people's problem. In the last few years the BBC microphone has gathered so many tales of bravery, endurance, cruelty, kindness, tragedy, defeat and victory, all of which have been shared regardless of nationality, that the effect on the listeners of any Allied country must be one of comradeship.

Since working on "Radio News Reel" I've received letters from at least a dozen countries where I know no individual. There was a letter from a lady in New Zealand, her family name was Whitteker and she wanted to know if we were related; her family had lived in Yorkshire and had gone to New Zealand in 1847. There was a letter from a Corporal in the Fourteenth Army fighting in Burma, he said he was coming to Canada after the war for he liked my Canadian accent; unfortunately he'll never come, he was a fighting man. There have been many letters from parts of Canada which I haven't seen, letters from the United States—letters saying, "I heard you broadcasting with my son, my husband or my brother—what did he look like?—how was he feeling?—is he happy?—he never tells us anything about himself." Those letters have all been answered and sometimes friendly, intimate correspondence develops. So you see there can be little misunderstanding if you have people from one country writing about their everyday duties, thoughts and habits to men and women of another country.

The North American "Radio News Reel" is concerned with furthering the understanding between Great Britain and the United States. Therefore it wasn't unusual that a few Canadians should help with its presentation, for, as we've so often been told and to quote Mr. Churchill, "Canada is the link between the Old World and the New" and I believe that every Canadian, no matter what his type of work, can do much to make the understanding of Britain and America even closer than it is. From personal experience while preparing our programme, I've found that the Canadian mind almost automatically appreciates their problems of misunderstanding.

"Radio News Reel" has done much in this direction; the programme is heard every night on the Mutual network and many privately owned stations throughout the United States, as are numerous other BBC broadcasts, while in Britain they are hearing and enjoying Jack Benny, Fred Allen and the rest, as well as informal informative programmes on the United States. A recently published article in a trade paper was headlined "Peace Won't End BBC-United States Co-operation", and it went on to state that in the years 1942, 1943 and 1944 the BBC had furnished over 40,000 hours of programmes to American stations, while an almost comparable number of hours were given in Britain to the re-broadcasting of American programmes. The attitude of broadcasters in both countries is that it's a vital element in the relations of the two nations.

Then there is the interpreting of the British Commonwealth to its members, often literally linking the people together. One Saturday morning the BBC sent out a programme especially designed for a small city in Australia, a place in New South Wales called Golburn, with a population of some 13,000 in the heart of sheep country on the southern tablelands of Australia. A few men from Golburn had been found in London and they were using the broadcast to talk to their home district about what they had seen in England. The programme was being re-broadcast by a local station in Golburn, so it was likely that many people in the district would be listening. However, the first reaction to the broadcast received in London didn't come from Golburn. It came from a Pilot Officer stationed on a lonely island in the Indian Ocean; the second letter came from a man in Portugal. Both these listeners were ex-residents of Golburn, Australia, who quite by chance had tuned in and heard the programme directed to their home district. However, nobody is surprised by this sort of thing any more, it's just taken for granted.

What I'm trying to say is that international broadcasting of the type pioneered by the BBC is going to form a daily part of our lives after the war. For, with the technical advances which I'm told are only awaiting the end of hostilities, you will be able to hear, without static and atmospheric interference, programmes of the people, by the people ,and for the people of every nation. These should be listened to and not turned off with the remark "Why do we want to hear him? He's got nothing to do with us." Yes, even after the novelty wears off, the novelty of hearing a voice span the globe with living-room clarity, you should keep on listening. Now you may say "Why should we listen to enemy propaganda?" Well, perhaps, but we all hope there won't be any propaganda, only tourist propaganda, which we in Ontario know something about already. I hope when the peace conferences are over, or even before, that we will be able to listen to international radio patterned on the present BBC formula that nothing pays off so effectively as the truth.

I mentioned a few moments ago that Canadians are engaged on the staff of "Radio News Reel," and as a matter of fact they're scattered throughout the organisation of the BBC in many departments. Two of the better known names are Stanley Maxted and Stewart MacPherson. A Canadian was the first casualty of our "Radio News Reel" section. Kent Stevenson from Vancouver had been part of "Radio News Reel" for many months. He was posted as missing last summer when the aircraft in which he flew to get a story of flying bomb-sights failed to return. There are other Canadians as well.

The newest service in the BBC's shortwave transmission is the Japanese service, which started in July of last year. The Director spent much time in Canada selecting his announcer staff from Canadian-born Japanese. This service broadcasts daily to Japan and to the whole of Southern and Eastern Asia. It's well-known that many thousands of shortwave receiving sets formerly existed in the occupied countries and there is good reason to believe that all of these are not now in Japanese hands, and it's hoped that this new service broadcasting to the enemy and enemy-occupied countries in the Far East, will be as effective as the European Service has been in its broadcasts to Germany and occupied Europe.

Now, I have here the reactions of three listeners which perhaps gives a more detailed picture of British broadcasting, as these listeners are separated by thousands of miles from each other and from the radio transmitters which send out the broadcasts. The first reaction was from an officer in the Australian army. He wrote to the BBC, in part:

"It has been my experience to hear BBC trans-

> missions in many widely scattered parts of Australia. In Melbourne I heard the news of Dunkirk and the collapse of France and the dramatic broadcast from Dover of dive-bombers attacking the convoy in the channel. I was crossing the desert when the Luftwaffe launched its attack on London and in settlers' camp along the line I heard the stories of Londoners' heroism. I've listened to news in far-western Queensland and there is a clearer picture yet in my mind of an evening at home in Victoria when the BBC announcer came to the microphone and said, "We must apologise for interrupting the programme. German troops have just invaded Norway and Denmark." The BBC is the voice of home to Britons and Australians, but none of us Britons or Australians can fail to acknowledge a twinge of pride on hearing each time those simple, calm words which imply something of the essence of our faith and the triumph of our spirit over time and enemies: 'This is London calling.' "

That was part of a letter sent by a listener in Australia and the following was addressed to London by a listener in India:

> "Personal messages from Indian soldiers and students reach their parents and friends and give a thrill never felt before. At the outbreak of the war, Berlin was ahead of the BBC in providing more powerful transmissions and well-organised Hindustani service. Berlin lost all influence when the 'man in the street' found out from the false and distorted news about India that Berlin was similarly lying about world events. The fact that BBC premises were bombed and yet the Overseas Service went on without a break, won the admiration of all."

And finally, there is the reaction of an Arab listener in the Middle East and a letter goes as follows:

> "Six years ago, when the first Arab voice was heard from London, listeners were impressed chiefly by the fact that it was coming from so far away. Today it can be said with perfect truth that nearly all Muslim and Arab listeners regard the BBC as the only trustworthy source of available broadcast news. Last October I was in the house of an Arab Nationalist leader who had certainly sympathised with the Axis stations at the beginning of the war, when his son mentioned a piece of news broadcast by a foreign station. 'Has it been broadcast by the BBC?' asked his father. 'No,' said the boy. 'Then,' said the father, 'it is an invention.' "

And those reactions came from three listeners thousands of miles apart, living in countries with different customs, languages and beliefs; but that the broadcasts have been successful there is little doubt.

This is a people's war, in a very simple and obvious way—more of a people's war than any other in history, for, if our enemies should succeed, the mass of the people everywhere would be governed by a small oligarchy or feudal order, whose "law" would simply be the commands of the rulers. But this is also a people's war from another standpoint—more of the world's population is involved and in this war civilians in the front line countries have suffered the revolting horrors of battle and destruction on their own doorstep, in their own homes, and amidst the wreckage and the dead. But it is more of a people's war even for geographically remote countries like Canada. For instance, here in Toronto many, many miles from the battlefields, through your radio in your home or in your car, you have heard the march of history with a more intimate force and aggressiveness than any previous generation.

Reflect for a moment, if you will, on some of the historic broadcasts, which you have heard as they happened. Do you remember September 3rd, 1939, at 7.15 Toronto Time, when an aged, tired, forlorn voice came through your loudspeakers from London? When that voice said, "Now, may God bless you all and may He defend the right. It is the evil things that we shall be fighting against, brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution and against them I'm certain that right will prevail.'" As Mr. Chamberlain spoke these words and we heard these words and we heard them here in Canada the sickening impact of world war reached out to each one of us as an individual.

Then later, when to many the end seemed a foregone conclusion, there came through the airways from London the stubborn defiant, intense, almost fabulous tone of the man who said, "We shall defend our island home and with the British Empire around us we shall fight on unconquerable until the curse of Hitler is lifted from the brows of men", and a few months later on September 11th, 1940, when invasion of Britain seemed inevitable, the same voice spoke again. This time it said, "Hitler has lighted a fire which will burn with a steady and consuming flame until the last vestiges of Nazi tyranny have been burned out of Europe and until the old world and the new can join hands to rebuild the temples of man's freedom and man's honour upon foundations which will not soon, or easily, be overthrown."

You heard those broadcasts of Mr. Churchill as they were spoken—you heard them here in Canada at the same instant they were being heard in all parts of the world. You heard them and you were so deeply impressed that you as an individual became part of the overall effort of mankind, because that voice spoke to you and as a man your faith could not fail.

There have been many historic broadcasts since 1939, and through international radio, which spans the globe, you have been a participant. To name a few which have impressed me, there is the broadcast from Alamein that Rommel was in retreat and the recordings made there of the precedent-setting artillery barrage; the brief communique from Supreme Allied Headquarters that British, American and Canadian men had landed in Normandy;

the broadcast of Winfred Vaughan Thomas in a bomber over Berlin, the heartrending and noble recordings and descriptions brought by Stanley Maxted from Arnheim and the description I heard last night of the Japanese demolition and fires in Manila, are just a few. There are many other broadcasts which you can name and which you have heard. Personally, I am looking forward to two more and I only hope that radio reception gives us a break on "Radio News Reel"—and those two broadcasts are the first sound pictures from an Allied source which come from Berlin and Tokyo.

"ONTARIO'S POSTWAR PLANNING NEEDS"

AN ADDRESS BY

GEORGE B. LANGFORD, B.A., PH.D., F.R.S.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, February 15, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: When the present Ontario Government took office, they created a new Ministry, known as the Department of Planning and Development. To head this department, under the Hon. Dana Porter, they selected for its director, Dr. George B. Langford, our guest speaker for today.

In setting up this Department, there came into official form a branch whose duty it would be, among other things, to co-ordinate and co-relate many postwar planning programs that have for some time been receiving considerable public attention. So keen was public interest in the subject that there were occasions when it appeared that planning might assume almost the proportions of a national pastime. When plans are made by persons with some experience as well as vision, and with some consideration of public need as well as of its wishes, we can hope for successful construction to follow.

The new Department, as you will note, is not alone for planning, but for "Planning and Development." This combination of purpose and function should serve as a check to the theories of "Brain-Trusters" (if we have any), by transforming them from the verbiage of oratory to a more practical expression in the realm of realities in our democratic way of life.

Dr. Langford is not a stranger to The Empire Club. It is just about two years ago that he addressed us on the subject of "Education for Democracy." He is a native of

Toronto. His early education was received in Calgary, and his first university was the University of Alberta. Later, he studied in Toronto University and in Cornell University. He is a graduate engineer, who has specialized in mining. He has practised in Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and South America. In 1937, he joined the staff of the University of Toronto as Professor of Mining Geology and at present is Director of the Department of Planning and Development for the Province of Ontario.

It is a pleasure to present Dr. George B. Langford, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.C. (which being interpreted means "Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada"), who will address us on the subject "Ontario's Postwar Planning Needs."

Dr. George B. Langford: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Talk of planning has become a fetish with the people of this country and in all probability with the people of all countries. The very word has become so "kicked around" and so commonplace that I wish there were a suitable synonym which we could substitute for it. Since our language seems to lack a good substitute word we will have to continue to use the word "planning."

Since we must talk of planning, let us start our discussion by making sure that we understand not only the the word but also what is implied in the process of making a plan. The dictionary tells us that a plan is a proposed method of action or procedure, but to me it signifies much more than that. It signifies all that goes into the making of a plan.

There are three well defined steps that must be taken in their proper sequence in the creating or making of a plan: the first of these steps is the taking stock of the existing situation—it makes no difference whether you are planning for a province or whether you are a housewife planning a meal—the first thing you must do is to have a clearcut statement of your present position. When the stocktaking has been done, then you must make up your mind whether or not you are satisfied with what you have. If you are not satisfied then you must determine what changes or improvements are necessary or desirable. This is the creative or inspirational part of planning; this is where new ideas enter into an enterprise. When you have decided what improvements or changes or new ideas you wish to adopt, then you are ready for the third and final step—the actual planning of how you will bring about the changes which you want.

Taking these three steps is a joint responsibility of the citizens and of the government. The first step—the stock taking—can usually best be done by groups of citizens with governmental assistance and guidance. The second step—deciding what changes and improvements are wanted—is largely the responsibility of the people of the Province. The third step—the planning—can usually be done best by a government agency with certain assistance from citizen groups.

I have emphasized my conception of the planning procedure, but I have done so in order that you will realize the necessity of close co-operation between the people of the Province and the Government. Unless we have that co-operation our work will fall far short of what it should accomplish.

Planning is today a fad and a favorite pastime indulged in or talked about by every business man in the country and also every Government, whether Federal, Provincial or Municipal. The types of organization,. committees and commissions that have been set up vary greatly across the country. The procedure which has been followed by many of the Provincial Governments has been to set up a postwar reconstruction commission or committee to study and report on the postwar needs. The activities of such bodies have been confined to stock taking and expressing opinions on the needed and desirable changes in the existing conditions. The Governments who followed that procedure must now set up other organizations to make plans for bringing about the recommended changes.

The present Government in Ontario followed a different procedure. They created a new department called the

Department of Planning and Development. Its duties embrace all three of the steps of the planning procedure. The Department was created by an Act of the Legislature in 1944 and I am going to take the liberty of reading the section from that Act which sets forth its duties:

"The Minister shall collaborate with the Ministers having charge of the other departments of the public service of Ontario, with the Ministers having charge of the departments of the public service of the Dominion and of other Provinces, with Municipal Councils, with agricultural, industrial, labor, mining, trade and other associations and organizations, and with public and private enterprises, with a view to formulating plans to create, assist, develop and maintain productive employment and to develop the human and material resources of the Province and to that end shall co-ordinate the work and functions of the Departments of the public service of Ontario."

Stripped of its legal varbiage, this means that the department shall do all those things which nobody else is doing.

The Department began to function in May of last year, with the Honourable Dana Porter as Minister, myself as Director, and that is all. Not only did we have no staff, we had no office; we did not even have a typewriter or filing cabinet and you know what that means in these days of shortages, and I can assure you we had no preconceived ideas of how we were going to solve the great problems of this Province. Since then we have never had a dull moment; as our task has unfolded we have been able to secure a few key men and today our activities are broken down into the following divisions or branches:

First, rehabilitation and re-establishment of men and women from the Armed Forces; second, town and community planning; third, conservation; fourth, trade and industry. Other divisions will be formed as the necessity arises—what I have just stated is the present organization. Each division or branch will undoubtedly have to expand as it really gets into the job of stock-taking, idea-formulating and eventually planning. Expansions of this sort seem to be following the best traditions in governmental circles.

In the remarks which follow I will endeavour to outline the main features as we see them in each of our Branches.

Re-Establishment.

The primary responsibility for the rehabilitation or re-establishment of men and women from the Armed Services belongs to the Federal Government and it has created a very generous rehabilitation programme. The activities which we are going to undertake will in no way duplicate or compete with the plans of the Federal Government. Our whole objective is to co-operate with the Federal authorities to the end that the men and women from our Armed Forces wil be returned to normal civilian life in a completely satisfactory manner.

We believe that the majority of men and women returning from overseas will become civilians with a minimum of disturbance and with little or no help from official sources. However, there will be many who are going to find it difficult, perhaps very difficult, to change from soldiers to civilians. These are the men and women whom we hope to help. Some of these people have never had civilian jobs and so will be at a loss to know what to do in civil life. Others do not want to return to their pre-war jobs and will be looking for new types of employment. Others are going to find it hard to settle down to the somewhat monotonous routine of being a civilian after the exciting experiences of four or five years at war.

However, no one can rehabilitate anyone else. Proper rehabilitation can only come about when the person concerned puts forth some effort. We must assist these men and women in selecting some type of civilian occupation in which they are interested and in which they will be able to earn a living. When they have made up their minds what they want to do, it will then be necessary for them to be trained in the trade, occupation, or profession which they have selected.

For this purpose the Ontario Training and Reestablishment Centre has been created in the old Normal School on Church Street. It is a trades training school, operated under the joint auspices of the Federal Department of Labour and the Provincial Department of Education. At present there are numbers of men taking courses, which vary from motor mechanics to barbering, from cooking to completing their matriculation. It is our plan to organize a follow-up or personnel service to assist those who complete their training in becoming satisfactorily employed in industrial life.

We also believe that in administering a plan as complicated as the Federal Government Rehabilitation scheme, and dealing with so many hundreds of thousands of people, it is inevitable that mistakes will be made. We want every enlisted man and woman from Ontario who feels that any mistake has been made in his or her case, to come to us and we will attempt to have the case reviewed by the Federal authorities. Both the Federal Government and the Provincial Government are equally anxious that no injustice be done to any of our ex-service personnel. Our main points of contact with Service personnel will be through the Civilians' Rehabilitation Committees which have been formed in most of the Municipalities of the Province, and we are now organizing our activities towards that end.

Town and Community Planning.

To many people town or community planning means a super-highway and a flower garden with a few beautiful stream-lined buildings stuck in as a background. It is unfortunate that this misconception has become so deeply rooted. To us, community planning means planning for a way of living—a way of increasing our standards of living—a way of making the amenities of the twentieth century available to everyone. In order to accomplish these ends it is going to be necessary to re-design our communities, to re-develop the run-down and dilapidated areas which are found in the heart of every large community, and to provide better facilities of all sorts for the people of the entire province.

Many of you may not realize how badly your city or even your part of the city needs planning in some degree or other. I would suggest that you take stock of your own locality by asking yourself a few very simple questions such as these:

Do your children play on the street or is there a suitable and proper recreational ground for them?

Is there any place where community activities can be held?

Do you spend long hours every week travelling to and from your work in street cars or buses, or if you travel by car, do you have those long annoying waits in traffic jams at every important intersection?

If you own property, have you seen property values decrease because of an unfavourable development in the vicinity of your property?

If you will stop and think for a moment it is quite easy to ask yourself a score or more of such questions. If all the answers to them are satisfactory, then you do not need any planning in your part of the community. But I will wager that very few will find satisfactory answers to all such questions, and in that case, your community needs planning.

The next time you travel through Ontario, whether by highway or by railroad, pay particular attention to what you see and to the impression you receive as you pass through the towns and cities of this Province. I did this on a recent trip to Ottawa and by the time I had arrived in that city I had a very fixed impression of having passed through about as dilapidated a string of communities as one could hope to find anywhere and the railroad entrance to Ottawa is perhaps the worst of the lot.

I think it is a fair statement to say that Ontario is probably as backward as any Anglo-Saxon country in matters of community planning. The proper development of our communities and a higher standard of living will necessitate a great programme of public works construction, which in turn is going to be a very valuable reservoir of jobs in the post-war era.

The experience in many countries has been that the jobs created by such orderly, systematized planning, will have a much more stabilizing influence on an unemployment situation than the hasty, panicky type of public works construction, which is thought up as an emergency measure, and is generally considered to be little more than a dole. Estimates made by the Canadian Construction Association and by private concerns associated with the construction industry, have estimated that the pubic works construction needs of Ontario are approximately one billion dollars. These needs include such items as—housing, water supply, hospitals, garbage incinerators, sewage disposal plants, slum clearance projects, conservation of our natural resources, (especially flood control and the prevention of soil erosion), improved school facilities, extended rural electrification, improved transportation both rail, highway and by air, reforestation, playgrounds and recreational areas, improved traffic arteries in our large cities, facilities for better community life in rural areas, new municipal buildings, art centres, libraries, community halls and theatres.

Some of these projects are urgently needed—others can wait. The whole province-wide public works construction programme must be so timed that individual projects will be placed in an order of priority; the needed projects will have to be proceeded with as soon as manpower and material are available. Other projects should not be proceeded with unless there is a plentiful supply of manpower and material, for it would be absurd for the government to compete with private industry and thus create shortages and high prices.

In making our plans we must, insofar as it is possible, include a time element; that is, we must decide when we are going to do these things, otherwise many of them will never be done. We have in many communities throughout Canada, very fine community plans which were made a number of years ago, but which have been forgotten. Had the communities at that time included a a time element in their plans, the chances are they would have been carried into effect.

You will all recall what Russia did in this regard. She found it necessary to have five-year plans and to set definite goals to be accomplished in a definite period of time. When the five-year plans were announced, many of us thought that they were just slogans or catch phrases, but I think most of us now realize that the Russian method of planning and action certainly has accomplished results.

Just a final thought on the topic of community planning. The growth of all the cities of Ontario has been likened to the growth of a mature apple tree. The live and growing part of the tree is the outside layer, while the heart of the tree is dead and decaying. I think that is a very true comparison. If any of you have the gasoline to spare and take a drive around your city, you will find a fast growing fringe which is expanding into the agricultural areas and stretching up the highways as ribbon growth. It is not following any well laid out pattern, nor is there usually any provision for sewers, water, schools, roads, shopping areas or transportation. It is spreading out as fast as farms can be acquired and subdivided. This type of growth increases our transportation problems, draws people away from the centre of the city and causes a drop in property value and general deterioration in the old housing areas.

By suitable planning and zoning this could be reversed. The old areas in the heart of a city can be rejuvenated and developed into very desirable residential areas, but only if we adopt planning legislation which can guarantee stability to official or master plans.

These are some of the things which the town and community planners of this province are endeavouring to do and I would suggest a more charitable and less critical attitude until we really understand what they are trying to accomplish.

Conservation.

One of the first activities of our Department after it was created last Spring was for the Minister and me to take a trip down to the Tennessee Valley to get a first-hand knowedge of what they have been able to accomplish in the way of flood control and conservation. It was a very profitable and inspirational trip.

The valley of the Tennessee River is almost as large as all the farming area of Southern Ontario. A great deal of it is being cultivated and since much of it is rolling land, with a heavy rainfall, the soil erosion has been so severe that the whole region was fast becoming impoverished. The people were bcoming poorer and poorer. The ambitious ones left the country and those that stayed were fast losing hope. All this has now been reversed. Floods have been controlled; soil fertility is being restored; the general prosperity of the whole region is increasing and peope have taken new hope for the future.

In Ontario the condition of our resources has not reached the low ebb that it did in Tennessee Valley. However, they are moving in that direction and we have done very little to check or prevent the deterioration that is taking place, and unless far-reaching measures are taken soon, this deterioration will continue at an accelerated rate.

In dealing with conservation in Ontario we must divide the province into three areas. In the first lies all the farming area of Southern Ontario. In the second lies the great forested area of Northern Ontario and in between these two lies a special area which extends from Georgian Bay to Pembroke and Kingston and which is sometimes referred to as the Cut Over area. The activities of our Department to date have been concerned only with Southern Ontario. The problems of Northern Ontario and the Cut Over area will receive our early attention.

In the agricultural areas of Southern Ontario a great deal of stock-taking has been done on conservation problems, so the task of our Department has been to gather together all the loose ends and to try and weave them into a definite co-ordinated conservation programme.

Such a programme for Southern Ontario will have to deal with soil erosion and proper land use, flood control and water supply, reforestation, fish and wild life. Stated in this manner these would appear to be a series of isolated problems, but this is not so. In the past we have developed our natural resources one at a time and usually at the expense of two or three other resources. A proper conservation programme embraces the development of all the resources of an area in unison so that each one will contribute its quota to the general prosperity of the district.

Let us take a brief look at what has happened to some of the resources of Southern Ontario and what must be done to restore them. The early settlers began cutting down the trees and this has continued until today great areas are stripped bare of their forest cover. Much of the cleared area was suitable for agriculture and has been so used. Much of it, by the very nature of the soil and the topography, is entirely unsuitable to agriculture but people have attempted to farm it. Every spring when the snow melts, or every time there is a heavy rain storm in the summer, the water goes rushing over the sloping ground carrying with it much of the valuable topsoil and causing floods in the rivers. So severe has this wastage of land become in parts of Ontario that there are now hundreds of abandoned farms throughout the province and within fifty miles of where we are seated today can be seen areas that were once heavily forested in pine trees but are now wastes of shifting sand.

Let us not forget, gentlemen, that the prosperity of this province depends upon the fertility of the top six inches of the agricultural soil. At one time North Africa was the granary of the Mediterranean area, but they abused their soil just as we are abusing ours. Today much of the once fertile North African country is now part of the Sahara Desert. While we do not necessarily predict desert conditions for this province, we do predict a very seriously impoverished nation unless we save the topsoil of the country.

It is a deeply rooted conviction throughout the agricultural world that poor land makes poor people. Today we see what is needed to correct these conditions. Soil surveys must be made to determine the characteristics of the soils of the province, then land use maps must be prepared which will indicate what each acre of land is best suited for. Some of it should be farmed, some of it should be in pasture, some of it should be in wood lots or wild land, and some of it could be best used by being converted into recreational areas.

However it is one thing to know the correct procedure, but quite another thing to get the land owners to adopt the new farming techniques which will be required. Unless they are adopted the whole scheme fails, consequently an educational campaign is as essential as working out a proper conservation program.

Another important feature of a conservation program is the prevention of floods and assuring an adequate supply of water for domestic and industrial uses. Throughout Ontario, Spring floods are becoming a greater menace to the communities along the rivers year by year. The frequency of these floods and their severity, which has been increasing markedly in recent years, will continue to increase unless very definite steps are taken to prevent it.

The cause of these floods is apparent to anyone who will give it a moment's consideration. We have cut the trees off the watershed, we have drained the swamps, and the standard farming practice is to get the water off the fields as soon as possible in the Spring. These practices liberate a tremendous volume of water—so great that the river channel cannot accommodate it. The results are floods which cause great damage in the communities along the rivers and in addition wash away thousands of tons of valuable top soil. After the flood has gone the land dries up to such an extent that we suffer from droughts.

This can be well illustrated by the situation that now exists in the South Nation River which drains a large part of Eastern Ontario. For the past twenty years the farmers of that area, aided by both the Federal and Provincial Governments, have been deepening the river channel and digging extensive drainage ditches so that more and more flat lying swamp area could be brought under cultivation. So successful have they been in disposing of the water in that area that now they are appealing to the Provincial Government to do something to restore the flow of water in the river, for it is not sufficient in the summer time to carry away the sewage of the communities on its banks.

The proper policy for dealing with the water which falls upon the land is to allow as much as possible to soak into the soil, where it constitutes a reservoir that can be drawn upon by plant growth or by wells. That part of the water which does not soak in must be allowed to run off in a gradual and orderly fashion so that it does no damage.

Reforestation will fill the double role of supplying us with valuable wood products and also aid in the control of the run off of the surface waters. It has been estimated that there are over 8,000 square miles in Southern Ontario that should be planted in trees. At the present rate of reforestation it will take approximately 800 years to accomplish the task. A very much more vigorous reforestation policy must be adopted.

The fish and wild life resources of Southern Ontario can be a very valuable asset, not only from the sporting angle but also for commercial fishing. Many of you can undoubtedly recall pleasant fishing holes, that you used to frequent in your youth, which have disappeared. There is no reason in the world why the wooded rivers and trout streams, you once knew, cannot be brought back in Southern Ontario.

There is hardly a river flowing into Lake Erie or Lake Ontario that does not flood in the Spring and dry up to a mere trickle during the Summer months. These rivers are the spawning grounds for many species of fish. But what chance have the young fry for survival in a river that is dry part of the year and when it is full of water is so polluted with silt, that the plankton on which these small fish live, cannot exist. Planting of fry is not the answer for there is little or no use putting fingerlings in an environment in which they cannot survive. Regulation of stream flow, erosion prevention, and a vigorous program of biological research are needed if our fisheries are to be restored.

I hope I have been able to demonstrate how interdependent the natural resources of Southern Ontario are and also how dependent the human beings are upon the proper development of the natural resources. Our Department is now engaged in a vigorous program to develop a suitable conservation policy for the Province and to educate the people of the Province to the needs and desirability of proper conservation practices.

Trade and Industry.

Another Branch of our Departmental activities is concerned with trade and industry. Already we have engaged an Industrial Engineer whose headquarters is at Queen's Park and in co-operation with Ontario House another industrial Engineer now has his headquarters in London, England. The services of the Industrial Engineer in Queen's Park are available to all industries or communities in Ontario in connection with any of their industrial problems. The Industrial Engineer in London is working in a similar capacity and his services are available to anyone interested in European markets or who may be interested in making connections with European manufacturers for the Ontario market. Furthermore, if industries in Europe wish to move out to Ontario or to establish branch factories in this Province, they will be given every encouragement and assistance through the offices of our Industrial Engineers.

I have endeavoured to give you a thumbnail sketch of the chief activities of our Department in the first eight months of its existence. There are other great problems ahead which we must tackle at the earliest possible moment and we will do so just as soon as the branches that we have already established are on a working basis and just as soon as we can secure properly qualified personnel to undertake these problems.

In closing I would like to say a word or two concerning the urgency of a much more vigorous planning campaign in Ontario than we have had to date. Our Department has just completed a survey of the extent of the planning that has been done for postwar public works construction projects throughout the Province by Municipal Governments. As you are all aware, the newspapers have carried many articles in the past year concerning the plans that municipalities had in this regard. We were anxious to know just what had been accomplished. So we sent out a questionnaire in which they were to state the plans which were just in the "idea" stage, those on which preliminary engineering studies had been made, those for which finished plans were being made, and those for which the plans had been completed and for which tenders could be called in thirty to sixty days.

I am sorry to have to report that the bulk of the plans for public works projects in this Province are still in the "idea" stage. Some have had preliminary engineering studies made; a very few are having complete plans made for them and for pratically none have plans been completed. Unless we move ahead vigorously and boldly in completing our plans, the war will be over and the men and women returning in large numbers, and we will not have any plans completed for the public works construction projects on which we may have to depend for employment in the postwar era. What shall we say to the men and women who come back and want jobs? Shall we say to them "We have been thinking about you, but we really have no plans made for what we are going to do to find you jobs?"

These young men and women went overseas to fight our battle for us. We made many fine sounding promises to them when they left. We were going to create a Canada that would be worth the sacrifices which they are making. We were going to create a Canada in which there would be an opportunity for everyone to earn a respectable living. Just think back a minute and recall how outspoken we were when danger threatened and we needed volunteers to protect us, and at the same time think how little we have done to implement our pledges. We are expecting the governments to do this for us, but unfortunately Government Bureaux cannot accept the whole responsibility. The best that the Government can do is to help you to implement your plans and to make it possible for you to do the things which you consider best and necessary. The people of the Province have a joint responsibility with their Governments.

If we make up our mind to it and the people and the Government work in unison, there is nothing that we cannot accomplish in this Province of ours, but if we continue to go ahead as we did before the war, each one concerned primarily with his own selfish interests, the post-war world will be little different from the pre-war world.

"THE DEFENCE OF MALTA"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM G. S. DOBBIE,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, February 22, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: Canada, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, is naturally concerned with our own relationships to the Mother Country and to the other members of the Commonwealth. But we have also learned to appreciate something of the value and service of the Colonies and other territories that go to make up the family of the British Empire, such as Malta, about which we are to hear today.

Almost a thousand miles from Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean Sea, lie the Maltese Islands. The largest of the five islands in the group is Malta, in length about 19½ miles and in width about 9 miles.

Many of the great empires of the past have listed Malta among their valued possessions. After five hundred years under the control of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the island was taken by Napoleon in 1798. Two years later, in 1800, it was taken by the British whose possession was confirmed in the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Despite more than 2300 air raids in the present war, it is still in British possession, thanks to its stout-hearted defenders and the aid of the British Fleet.

Within a radius of about six miles from the Port of Valetta, live the great part of its two hundred and seventy thousand people. Maltese is the official language, but both Maltese and English are taught in the schools. The port of Valetta is rated as one of the finest harbours in the world, and is the home of the British Mediterranean Fleet.

Our guest speaker today, General Sir William Dobbie, stepped out of retirement in 1940 to accept the governorship of this historic little island. He was born in Madras, India, received his early education in England, and graduated from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. He served with distinction in the South African War, and in World War I he not only won the D.S.O. but has the unique honor to have been the officer who on November 11th, 1918, issued the order to the British armies to "Cease Fire."

In the present war, he has been twice honored by the King, having been made Knight Commander of the Bath, in 1941, and Knight Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George in 1942. His elder son, a Major in the Royal Engineers, gave his life in Italy in June last.

I have been given a copy of a fine testimonial tendered to General Dobbie by the Roman Catholic officials of Malta, but I do not propose to read it to you, since, in the few days he has been in Toronto, he has already won our admiration and captured our hearts.

It is a pleasure to welcome today General Sir William G. S. Dobbie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., LL.D., former Commander-in-Chief, Governor, and Defender of Malta, who will speak to us on "The Defence of Malta."

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM DOBBIE: Mr. President and Gentlemen: It was very kind of you to invite me to meet you here today and I gladly accepted the invitation. I consider it a high honour to be here, and an even higher one to be asked to address you.

I rather fear there are a number of you here who have already undergone the ordeal of listening to me elsewhere. If that is the case, I apologize for inflicting another flow upon you, but I am acting under orders, as you know.

I am going to speak to you about the siege of Malta and I thought that, as this is The Empire Club of Canada, it might be appropriate to begin by reminding you how it was that Malta came into association with the British Empire. It did not come in by conquest or in any way of that kind; it came in by its own volition, and it has been extremely proud of its partnership in the great Empire to which we belong, and, if I may say so, I think our Empire is proud that Malta is a component part of it.

In the limited time at my disposal, I want to remind you why it was we had to hold Malta during this war. It was extremely isolated. It was only sixty miles from the nearest enemy territory and, at the time when Italy entered the war and the siege began, it was very nearly one thousand miles from the nearest friendly territory. For that reason its isolation was very pronounced and made it an inconvenient base to hold.

Still, we had to hold Malta, because, as you all remember, Italy at that time was keeping a very large force in North Africa, a well equipped army, stronger in numbers and better equipped than were the forces that we had in Egypt for its defence. This army was a very definite danger to Egypt and it was necessary to do what was possible to keep the size of it down within manageable limits, and the way to do that was to attack the communications across the Mediterranean Sea on which the army depended for its very existence. Malta, owing to its geographical position, was the place whence that could be done most effectively; it was needed as an offensive base and it was used from the very beginning of the war with Italy.

I may say now that it did prove to be a most effective base and it took a tremendous toll of the Italian ships that were passing, carrying supplies and re-inforcements to the Italian army, and the German armies later on, in North Africa.

We had naval units, and later air units, based on Malta which prevented the enemy from maintaining as large a force in North Africa as he would have wished, and that just made the difference when things were going hard with the defence of Egypt. If Malta had fallen, I think it is probable that we would not have been able to hold Egypt. If Egypt had gone, you could understand, just as well as I could, what a disaster it would have been and how far reaching and catastrophic might have been the results.

We had a very small force in Malta when the war with Italy began. That was unfortunate, but it couldn't be helped. The resources of the great Empire were stretched to breaking point at that time. We had lost nearly all our equipment in France and in Belgium, although, in God's mercy, we managed to withdraw the greater part of the personnel of our forces there; Great Britain was in a very undefended state, mainly owing to this lack of equipment, and everything that could be got together in the way of men and equipment had first of all to be applied to the protection of Great Britain, which was expecting an invasion from the victorious German army after its sweep right across Europe. Therefore, it was not possible to send re-enforcements to Malta, or to anywhere else overseas, and we had to manage, making the best use of what little there was.

We had a small number of airplanes. We oughtn't to have had any and it was only by accident that we did have some. They were only four in number and of a very antiquated type.

We also had a very small military force. The Italians had long been boasting that they had intended to make a full scale invasion of the island by sea and air, like our later invasion of Sicily and when war was declared we fully expected they would make the attempt.

We needed infantry with which to watch and protect the various beaches for such landings, and there were some thirty-odd miles of those beaches. We also had to watch and defend the various places in the middle of the island where the air-borne landings would come, and to do all that we had four battalions of the British Regular Army and one Maltese Territorial battalion which was at that time, unfortunately, in process of reorganization. Just at first, for that reason and that reason only, it wasn't fully effective but it became a very good unit later on.

I will recapitulate. We were weak, the enemy was strong. If he had attacked us, he would have had complete command in the air, practically. We knew we couldn't get any re-enforcements for an indefinite period —it turned out to be something over four months—and we knew that the enemy knew to a man what forces we had. That was the state of affairs when Italy on the tenth of June, 1940, declared war on the British Empire and the siege of Malta began.

For one reason or another, the invasion, which we were expecting and which we were very ill-prepared to meet, was not attempted either then or later. It seems to me that the enemy threw away a wonderful chance where circumstances were very favourable to him. Whether he would have succeeded or not, of course, is another thing. I like to think he wouldn't have. He ought to have made the attempt but he didn't.

As you know, he did take what he thought was the short cut to success by bombing the base heavily. I don't know what your experience in war is, gentlemen, but I have found that a short cut very seldom pays and certainly did not pay in the case of the Italians.

Malta, as has been indicated by the President, is the most densely populated country in the world. There were not less than 270,000 persons, quite apart from the garrison, packed into one hundred square miles, and the enemy thought it was the sort of place suitable for treatment from the air, that he would break the spirit of the people and so compromise his security. Well, gentlemen, I am glad to tell you the enemy thought wrong and he never showed any signs of achieving success on those lines. The people of Malta put up a splendid show from beginning to end, and they never wavered once. Their morale never showed any signs of breaking, not even cracking, and we do owe them a great debt for the contribution they made, by their steadfastness, to the successful defence of the fortress.

I remember going about among the people from time to time and one day I met a woman standing outside the ruins of her house. It had just been destroyed in a raid.

She had lost everything. I forget whether her family had suffered casualties then or not. Anyway, I went up to her and tried to sympathize with her. There is little enough one can say under those circumstances, as you can imagine. This is what she said to me, "Your Excellency, we have lost everything but it does not matter so long as we win this war". That was the spirit of the people of Malta.

I will tell you now just a little bit of the beginning of the siege. As I have mentioned, they bombed us very heavily.

The Gloucester Gladiators that we had were manned by very gallant young officers of the Royal Air Force, and, as you would have expected, they went up and met the enemy. The Italians had infinitely greater strength than we had. We were never able to put more than three planes in the air at a time. For some inscrutable reason, in the Air Force, if you have four machines, you always have to be tinkering with one on the ground. However, those three went up day after day. They were later on named Faith, Hope and Charity, and they tried to keep the enemy away from Malta. It was a fine thing that they did, a fine thing—and the King honoured one or two of those very gallant pilots by the award of the Distinguished Flying Cross.

They had a little success, and after a time they did manage to put the enemy off his route a bit and he began to drop his bombs much more widely than he had at the beginning. Many he dropped in the sea, well before he got to Malta, which was a very prudent thing, and a very satisfactory thing to do, from our point of view, and his enthusiasm for the bombing of Malta did very definitely wane, so much so that he thought it necessary to explain to his own people why this had taken place. He put out a most extraordinary communique one day, after the war had been going on for a few weeks. He said to his people—we overheard him—"We have destroyed every military objective in Malta." I ask you—just think of this! He hadn't destroyed one. That is the communique that he put out and he seemed very delighted about it and of course we were very delighted to hear it and all that.

Well, this sort of thing went on for a long time and later on we got some more air re-enforcements, mostly bombers—very few fighters all the time I was there—but we needed the bombers for the offensive against the Italian and the German shipping. They did wonderful work, together with the Royal Navy, against the enemy convoys. This damage was so great that the enemy thought it necessary to do something drastic and he sent to Sicily a large part of the German Luftwaffe in order to try and suppress the offensive carried on from Malta.

These Germans came and they did give us a very bad time, especially on their second visit which began about Christmas, 1941, and went on into the following summer. It was going full-blast when I finally left the island in the summer of 1942 with my wife and daughter. They did their level best to stop the offensive from Malta, but it was necessary that we should be able to keep it going, and I am glad to be able to tell you that we did.

It was very difficult to keep the runways of the air fields so that the aircraft could take off and land, but we got over the difficulty by having a large part of the army help the Royal Air Force. I am mentioning this, because I want you to see how the two services worked together. Several thousand men from the army were turned out to work on the airdrome and as soon as the runaways were bombed, these men would pounce on the hole and fill it in as quickly as possible. By that means, we were just able to keep the offensive going.

There were no less than three major raids every day. This went on for months. You could almost set your watch by them, they were so regular, and each of the major raids consisted of a hundred bombers with a large number of fighters. That attack was going on day after day and month after month and did a tremendous lot of damage in Malta. The people stood up to it in the way I have described and in spite of all they had to put up with, they kept a bold front, and their determination did not waver.

It was during that period, when these great things were happening, that our King made that very delightful gesture and awarded to Malta the George Cross. It came as a complete surprise to me, and to everyone else, of course, and it fell to my lot to make the announcement to the people. I got on the radio and told them what the King had done, and I also pointed out that he had done a completely new and unique thing in the history of the British Empire. Never before, so far as I know, had a decoration been awarded to a community, and Malta has the signal honour of being the first place in the British Empire, and I believe still is the only place, which has had that great honour conferred upon it.

I drew the attention of the people to this fact and, of course, they went off their heads with delight. The King couldn't have done a nicer thing and it came just at a time when that encouragement was very welcome.

Your flag is in front of me with the words "Empire Club". We had an Empire Club in Malta. It wasn't formed specifically for any purpose, but it came into being, shall I say, by accident. I think it was at the end of 1941 or in the early days in 1942, I was visiting one of our airfields, and I was meeting a lot of the officers in the bomber command that we then had in considerable numbers, and in one squadron, or in one mess in which a number of squadrons were, I found officers from practically every part of the British Empire. There were officers from this great Dominion, from South Africa, and from New Zealand. There were others from Australia, from Rhodesia, from Great Britain and from other places in the British Empire. It was awfully nice to meet these fellows and to see the wonderful way they were all working together, very happily and efficiently, and I thought that this was so, spoke well of the reality of the bonds that unite those from all the component parts of the British Empire.

I would like to tell you of one incident which may interest you. We had expected when the siege began to have constant visits from the Italian Navy. Actually, we didn't have any, except on one occasion later on when the Italian Navy came, after the unconditional surrender, and anchored off the harbour at Malta. I wish I had been there to see it but, unfortunately, I wasn't.

But on this other occasion, the only visit they paid us before the siege—that was after the war with Italy had been going on for about a year—they sent against us, instead of the big ships we thought courtesy demanded, the very smallest they could find. They wanted to get them into the harbour and to torpedo or blow up any of our ships they found anchored there; so they carried these little boats from Sicily or Italy in big steamers, and they stuck them in the sea a few miles from Malta under cover of darkness. Well, although our artillerymen on the coast had been waiting and watching, shall we say, for 365 nights, and every night wondering if that was the night it was going to be, so far nothing of this kind had happened. But when on the 366th night it did happen, these fellows were not caught napping, which I thought was pretty good. They got those little boats in the searchlight beam and they destroyed the lot. Not a single one got into the harbour and not a single one got away.

The men manning those boats, let me tell you, were very gallant fellows. I saw some of them. We took them prisoner and I was very much impressed with the stamp of men they were. They were picked men but, gallant as they were, they didn't have a chance.

You would like also to be told this fact. The Royal Artillery units who did that work were mostly from the Royal Malta Artillery. That, as you know, is a regular unit of the British Army, and of course in the war it was expanded a lot, as was also the Territorial Infantry unit which was formed in Malta as well.

Now the time is going on and I will have to finish in a moment. Gentlemen, there were one or two lessons we learned from the siege of Malta and I think we will be very unwise if we don't pay heed to them. We learned them in a hard school and we don't want to throw them away.

One lesson was this. One of the reasons that we were able to hold Malta and why the Union Jack is still flying there, was that everyone in the island pulled together. We give a lot of lip service, don't we, to the word "*Co-operation*". We want to do more than that. We have got to see that we do it as well as talk about it. It is not always easy to do, especially when we think the other fellow isn't doing his bit.

In Malta we wanted to look at everything from the point of view of the whole and not from the point of view of the interests of some section of the people. We had plenty of opportunity for people to be pulling in all sorts of different directions. We had the Navy, the Army, the Air Force and we had the civil population. Their interests, their sectional interests, might all be somewhat different, but we had to look upon everything from the viewpoint of the Maltese interest. So we had a Defence Committee, and it consisted of the Admiral, representing the Navy; the General Officer Commanding, representing the Army; the Air Vice-Marshal, representing the Air Force; the Lieutenant-Governor, representing the civil side, all under the Chairmanship of myself, the Governor. We called ourselves "The Big Five", and sat around the table and settled in principle everything that affected the well-being of Malta.

When we wanted food brought, the Navy didn't send one demand for food and the Army another, and the Civil another. We sent just one demand. When we got it, we dished it out as we thought best, as the situation required. We realized that all stood or fell together and there was no good one body getting very fat if all the others were starving.

Gentlemen, I believe that is the principle, that we have got to apply nationally and internationally, in the years to come, dealing with the thing not from the sectional interests, but from the viewpoint of the good of the show as a whole. We tried to do that at Malta and I think we had some success in doing it.

There was another lesson, which we learned, which I think is even more important. I have told you how very weak we were. I have told you also how strong the enemy was and you will agree that the prospects of the defence of Malta, especially in the early days, were not too rosy. We had to face facts and we realized that our resources were inadequate. Well, gentlemen, we faced it as the British Empire has, I think, faced that same difficulty elsewhere, by asking and obtaining the help of God Almighty. We realized we needed His help, we asked Him for it and He gave it to us.

May I repeat to you a telegram which I received from no less a person than the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir Edmund Ironside, now Field Marshal Lord Ironside. He sent it as the siege of Malta began and the wording was this: "Personal from the C.I.G.S., Deuteronomy Chapter Three, Verse Twenty-Two".

I looked up the verse in the Bible and this is what I read: "Ye shall not fear them; for the Lord your God, He shall fight for you".

Gentlemen, I would like you to know the C.G.I.S. was right in my estimation and in the estimation of many of us who served in Malta at that time. We realized we needed help. we asked Him to give it us, and He did.

You may be interested if I quote what some of you have already heard. I repeat it for the sake of others who have not done so. I quote a special Order of the Day that I thought right to issue to the Garrison at Malta, just at the time the siege began. It was worded like this: "The decision of His Majesty's Government to fight on until our enemies are defeated will have been heard with satisfaction by all ranks of the Garrison of Malta. It may be that hard times lie ahead of us, but however hard they may be, I know that the courage and determination of all ranks will not falter and that with God's help we will maintain the security of this fortress. I therefore call upon all officers and other ranks humbly to seek God's help, and then in reliance upon Him to do their duty unflinchingly."

Many times during the two years that followed before we left Malta, did we have ample proof that God was aiding us, that He was giving us the help we needed and without which we could not have held Malta.

We have seen other signs during this war of help being given. I have been told this—I wasn't there myself at Dunkirk—the good hand of our God was very much in evidence over the British Expeditionary Force being withdrawn from France and Belgium. I believe it is true.

I have also been told that at the time of the Battle of Britain, when Mr. Churchill said so much was owed by so many to so few, God's hand was also to be seen. I wasn't there, I was in Malta. I do know that the one person in a better place to judge than anyone else—I refer to the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Fighter Command—has said in public in England on more than one occasion, speaking of the splendid things done by his young fellows in the air when trying to break the power of the German air attack on Britain, that if it had not been for God's help, we could not have won the Battle of Britain. He used words very definitely to that effect.

I was in Malta. I can speak from first hand knowledge about that. I do say if it had not been for God's help I do not think Malta would be today in British hands. The odds against us were too great. The whole thing is a miracle—a long drawn out miracle. The siege lasted for two and a half years, and the odds against us, especially in the early days, were enormous. In the latter days the dangers were equally great but of a different kind. Our food supplies very nearly ran out and it was desperately difficult to get the food through the Mediterranean to Malta, but we just got it through, thanks to the devotion of the Navy and the Merchant Navy. We just got enough through to enable Malta to turn the corner.

Gentlemen, I think it would be very wrong of me, who owes so much to God through Jesus Christ for what God has done for me, if I didn't express publicly my gratitude to Him for what He did for us and our people during the siege of Malta. He means much to me and all through my army service He has meant much to me and has, ever since I was a boy, before I went into the Army. I met Jesus Christ and took Him for my Saviour and He has been everything to me in war and peace from that day to this. Without His help one could not have competed with the problems and difficulties with which one was faced in Malta.

May I very humbly commend Him to you, Gentlemen. We all need Him, every one, without exception, and He is only too anxious to give us the help we need.

I have spoken long enough now and my time has just gone. I thank you for the patient way you have listened to me and I hope I have been of some interest and of some help to you.

"THE APPROACHING CLIMAX"

AN ADDRESS BY

JOHN COLLINGWOOD READE

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, March 1, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: One of the books in my library, which I have always valued highly, was published in 1901 and is entitled "Summits of Success", written by James Burnley. It is probably a forerunner of the kind of career books now becoming popular for use in Vocational Guidance. I am going to quote a couple of sentences from that book for two reasons, first, because it defines the qualifications for a successful career, and secondly, because it may apply to the career of our guest of today.

I quote: "The mental equipment necessary for the sort of success that brings riches to a man is far different from that which is requisite for the achievement of success in the higher things of life, such as may yield fame and not wealth, admiration and not substance. In one case, brightness, alertness, energy, perseverance, endurance are all essentials, and are all very excellent possessions; in the other the stronger qualities of heart, mind and intellect are demanded to begin with."

Mr. John Collingwood Reade, our guest speaker today, has already had a successful career, in that he has at least won both fame and admiration. He was born in England and attended preparatory schools there, and in Belgium. Later, he attended the Royal Naval Class of H.M.S. *Conway,* in England. He served some time on a tanker plying to South America, came to Canada and joined the R.C.M.P. and spent three years in Western Canada. From there, he came to the University of Toronto, where he graduated in English and History. Following his graduation, he contributed articles to *Saturday Night, MacLean's* and other publications. From 1928 to 1943, he was on the staff of *The Globe and Mail,* as editorial writer and columnist. His radio newscasts and comments over Station C.F.R.B. are still remembered. On the abdication of Edward VIII, he contributed a coast-to-coast broadcast for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

In 1937, he spent some time in England and on visits to the Continent.

In 1940, he addressed the Empire Club on "The Twentieth Century Crusade."

In 1941, he returned to England, where he wrote a series of articles for the *Daily Mail;* did a series of broadcasts for the B.B.C., and observed some naval action in the North Sea. On his return in November, he addressed The Empire Club on "The Russian Campaign."

Mr. Reade is now on the staff of radio station C.F.R.B. He was sent by them to England in October last, but before leaving accepted an invitation to address this Club on his return, which was arranged for early in December. However, his trip was extended and he just returned to this city about ten days ago.

We are glad to welcome him back to Canada and to The Empire Club, and I am, therefore, very happy to present Mr. John Collingwood Reade, who will recount some of his recent observations under the title "The Approaching Climax."

MR. JOHN COLLINGWOOD READE: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: For more than five and a half years the world has shuddered under the impact of war, and society has been shaken to its very foundations. Most of us now believe that the end is in sight and that within a few months, the more formidable of our two enemies will have been subdued. It may turn out that some of our estimates are over-optimistic but a few weeks one way or another will make very little difference after some sixty-six months of war.

The German is a resourceful, determined and stoical enemy, who will patiently undergo the most terrible hardships in order to preserve his national existence and salve his national pride. And so the task of defeating him must be carried forward unrelentingly. Nevertheless, his defeat is clearly imminent and, while we keep our eyes on our work and our hands busy with their allotted tasks, we would not be human if our thoughts did not wander beyond the routine of the moment to explore the new and unfamiliar ground on which we shall spend our days—when the guns no longer speak and the wail of the air-raid siren is silenced for good.

We can never return to the old ways because the emergencies of war, the demands of war and the effects of war have changed the tools with which we work, altered the balance of power among nations and forced economic relations to seek their equilibrium on another plane.

You have probably heard a great deal of discussion recently about the military aspects of the war and, while I have spent a good deal of time during the last five months with units of all branches of the service, I do not propose today to talk about tactics, weapons, supply, terrain or any of the factors which enter into the conduct of battle. I thought you would like to hear instead something of the effect which war has had on the peoples most nearly affected by it and these include the men of our own fighting services overseas and those of our allies.

Man is the most adaptable creature in the world. Otherwise he could not stand the shocks and changes to which he has been so often subjected. But in the process of adapting himself, his outlook, his tastes and his capacities change. Perhaps those, who suffer most in the long run, are those who have been left comparatively serene and undisturbed by the tempests which rage past their door, for to them the new ways will be unfamiliar.

There has never been a time of quietude and security throughout the world. Human society, like the earth on which it lives, is always trying to adjust itself to great stresses. As the earth cools down and its crust shrinks, fissures appear—and there are earthquakes; or pressures develop to blow the tops off volcanoes. Economic needs, the assertive tendencies of national culture, the settlement of old quarrels, the rise of new beliefs, which seize the imagination of men who are weary, disillusioned and hungry for an emotional anchor and something on which to pin their faith, will always create stresses in human society. These stresses may not always be relieved by the eruption of war but they will produce social and political disturbances which affect everybody and require them to make personal adjustments to altered conditions.

Before this war is finished, the capital equipment and productive facilities of western Europe will have been virtually demolished by bombardment or sabotage. Industrial skills, on the other hand, will have been sharpened and developed by that necessity which has mothered so much invention. Personal resourcefulness has increased enormously in the devastated countries, because the inhabitants can no longer depend upon the services of organized industry, transport and distribution. In fact, I think we may see a general movement away from the centralized control of industry and government and a tendency toward the development of smaller and more self-reliant units. Political control and a great deal of economic regulation may pass into the hands of state governments but the administration of many aspects of community life must, I think, revert to the small community.

The task of rehabilitating Europe staggers the imagination. It cannot be undertaken in detail by some vast centralized agency. Even while the work of reconstruction is going on, people will have to live, and in order to live they will have to improvise, and in the very act of improvising they will work great social changes.

There is by no means a clear political trend anywhere in Europe. The people are veering neither to the right nor to the left. They are much too preoccupied with the problem of personal survival for any political doctrine to make much of an appeal. They didn't like Nazism, but they are not at all sure whether the evangelists of western democracy are the saviours they have been awaiting. They have been given their freedom within the limits of military prudence but they don't often get breakfast, or warm dwellings, or sufficient clothes to shield them from the damp cold, which chills their very bones in winter time.

This, you may say, is not the fault of the liberating armies whose first task is to beat the enemy and who need all the equipment they can land in Europe in order to carry out this vital task. That is quite true, and the more thoughtful Frenchmen, Belgians, Dutch and Italians recognize its truth. But it is not easy to convince masses of cold and hungry people that their present sufferings are a legacy from the German occupation and not a condition brought into being by the arrival of the liberating armies. ✓

I think most people have the impression, which I had myself, that the lot of the people in the occupied countries was almost unbearable during the period of German control. This was not actually the case. They suffered a good deal of mental anguish and many individuals suffered physical torture but so far as food, fuel and clothing were concerned, the bulk of the population was better off than they are now and the behaviour of German troops, they will tell you, was disciplined and correct. That is to say, there was very little private looting, molestation of women, or destruction of property. The ordinary Frenchman, who minded his own business and kept strictly out of military or political affairs, might be spiritually depressed but he was not deprived of the bare physical necessities.

The Germans went about their task of national dismemberment more subtly than that, and tried to make the private citizen accept the new order and co-operate with it. As the enemy was driven back, however, he began to show his true colors. He was ruthless and brutal in forcing the civilian population to aid his preparations for defense. He slaughtered the milk cattle for food and withdrew everything on wheels including more than six thousand ✓

French locomotives and many thousands of freight and passenger cars. He did many other things to the civilian population, which I will touch on later, but the truth is that the people as a whole felt the worst results of the German invasion only after the Germans had been expelled.

I think we promised too much and, though the promises were made in good faith, they were based on an erroneous estimate of the requirements. However well-intentioned the allies were in their eagerness to secure the collaboration of the people in occupied countries before the invasion, the fact is we have not been able, as yet, to fulfil the expectations of those people, with the result that there is not the cordiality one might suppose between the allied armies and the civilian population.

The best feeling is to be found in Belgium, in the British and Canadian sector. In Brussels and Antwerp, the people like our troops and are liked by them. Brussels is the happiest town I visited, although the lot of the private citizen who cannot afford to pay black market prices is not an enviable one. There is coal in Belgium but there are no fires in private houses. There is food, but black market prices are such that very few can afford to supplement their meagre rations.

The black market is perhaps the most insidiously evil factor in the life of western Europe. It fosters the gangster and increases his power. It bleeds the citizen and exhausts his resources. But it cannot be exterminated or even too severely restrained, for it is the only efficient means of distributing the margin of goods which spells the difference between endurable living and unendurable living.

And so the black market will flourish until means have been found to replace it with officially organized transport and distributing facilities. This is the core of the problem. I don't believe that the people of western Europe are going to require millions of tons of food from North America. France is a great agricultural country with an almost self-contained economy which, if her land is intensely and scientifically cultivated, is capable of feeding her people with some to spare for their neighbours.

The help she *will* need, from the great industrial nations of the western world and from England, is motor transport to begin with—the replacement of rolling stock, as a long range project to restore basic transport, and industrial machinery.

There may be some who will question the wisdom of putting these countries back on their feet economically and setting them up in business to compete with us. All I can say is that, unless we do, the world will be deprived of important sources of wealth and that the exchange of goods and services amongst peoples, which is the foundation of prosperity, will not be revived. In the meanwhile, the economic depression of people accustomed to a high standard of living will turn their thoughts once more to colonial expansion and wars of conquest.

The best safeguard of peace is free and equal access for all peoples to the resources of the world. For these are the heritage bequeathed by Providence to all mankind and not set aside for the exclusive use or abuse of those who happen to live within the political boundaries in which they are situated. The possession of great mineral deposits, great forest resources, great agricultural possibilities and an abundance of hydro power gives those, in whose country they are found, a responsibility to develop them and make them available to the world on a just basis of exchange.

If they are treated as a corner, a means for holding the world to ransom, an opportunity for denying to those less fortunately situated the means of helping themselves to raise the standard of living of their people, their denial to the world merely encourages the competition of low-paid labour or engenders those hatreds and jealousies which lead to war.

There have, of course, been other consequences following the German occupation than the mere destruction of physical things. I do not want to leave the impression that, because the Germans behaved in a disciplined fashion while they were undisputed masters in western Europe, they perpetrated no crimes against the conscience of humanity. The very coldness and deliberation with which they carried out their atrocities made them all the more shocking. The debasement and deterioration of the human mind by sheer organization is an object lesson in the futility of reason without feeling, efficiency without philosophy, faith without love.

I visited one or two of the German places of detention in France, Holland, and in Italy, and I can assure you that thousands of people in western Europe have been harrowed and anguished beyond all hope of recovering their poise this side of the grave.

The Germans were absolutely ruthless in demanding collaboration and in their punishment of those who refused to collaborate. While they left the private citizen pretty much to his own devices so long as he minded his own business and carried out the functions allotted to him, they punished with the utmost severity any who affronted their dignity or attempted to frustrate their purposes. They were not in the least particular whether the victims of their vengeance were actually guilty of the charges laid against them, and they worked on the theory that, so long as enough people were punished and severely enough punished for any act hostile to the German regime, the deterrent effect on the people as a whole would enable them to keep the situation in hand.

This absolutely cold appraisal of values seems to have been applied to their own people as well. They took the view that their only purpose was to win the war and establish the unquestioned supremacy of German power over all of Europe, and this purpose was to be achieved in the swiftest and most efficient manner possible, no matter at whose expense or at what sacrifice of humanitarian or social principles.

I heard stories from people, who had lived the past few years in Switzerland, concerning the treatment of the

German wounded, that would raise your hair. I am not in a position to verify this personally because I didn't see it, but I saw enough evidence of German treatment of political prisoners that I would give some credence to these stories. My informants told me that German troops, who were so severely wounded on the Italian front—that there was no likelihood of their being able either to work or fight any more, were simply piled into closed railway cars and dragged back to Germany with no regard for whether they survived or not. The general impression seems to have been that if they could neither work nor fight they were a liability which should be liquidated as fast as was possible.

As I said before, I can't vouch for the truth of that, but I can tell you that there is a camp at Struthof, where several thousand members of the resistance movement and other political prisoners were put to death by the Germans by the most modern methods and in the most sanitary conditions you can imagine. The camp was beautifully constructed and equipped with many ingenious electrical devices. The victims, however, were put to death by the application of these various devices and notes were taken on their reaction during the process. As it happens, the enemy was compelled to abandon the camp so fast that the records fell into Allied hands and are available for inspection.

The curious twist of the Teutonic mind enables the German to believe inhumane and indiscriminate killing is perfectly justifiable if it be done under scientific auspices and scrupulous records are made by appropriate experts.

I also visited the notorious concentration camp at Vucht in Holland which is near Hertogenbosch. Here Dutch saboteurs and members of the resistance movement, as well as those from other countries, were interned. The camp again is well constructed and supplied with adequate sanitary facilities but the death rate was so high that it required a crematorium with three furnaces to dispose of the mortal remains of Dutch patriots. As it is at present used as a concentration camp for German civilians evacuated from occupied German territory and Dutch collaborationists, it is fairly easy to compute what the normal death rate in the camp should be. Its present population is over eleven thousand and the death rate is around twenty a week. As most of the inhabitants are of Roman Catholic faith, they are not cremated but, if they were, one of the three furnaces installed by the Germans would be adequate for the purpose.

There is a grim reminder of German sadism to be seen at Vucht—a reminder which I think should have been preserved but which was being dismantled when I visited the camp. It was a gallows without a trap—a contraption with two uprights and a cross-member. From the middle of the cross-member there hung a rope with a noose on the end of it. This is suggestive enough but it did not complete the apparatus. There were two little blocks of wood that went with it. These blocks of wood were about as long as a human foot at the top and about half the length of a human foot at the bottom. The top part of each was provided with ledges to keep the foot in place. Perhaps at first you don't see the significance of these blocks but you would if you tried to stand on them. If you stand very still, you can keep your balance even with your hands tied behind your back, but, if you were to get tired and a little shaky on your pins, the narrow bottoms of these blocks would not support you and the blocks would topple over, and, if the noose were around your neck, you would remain suspended. The ordinary gallows is comparatively humane; the victim falls through a trap and drops far enough to break his neck and he dies instantly. But the simple device, which the Germans installed at Vucht, forces the victim to contemplate his approaching doom while trying to remain alive by balancing himself on the treacherous blocks. When, finally, through exhaustion or terror he can no longer maintain his balance, he simply strangles to death in a most unpleasant manner.

I am telling you these things, not because I love the morbid any better than you, nor yet to harrow you unreasonably. I don't believe in needless horrors. But I think it necessary that we should know the truth about the enemy we are fighting and understand why it is necessary to defeat him, even at the stupendous cost of blood and toil which has been expended upon it.

I went overseas a little skeptical of the atrocity stories and wondering if, after all, they were exaggerated for the purpose of propaganda. I am now convinced that they were not. I have talked to mutilated men and women who have survived. I have seen some of the evidence which is now in the hands of the French Ministry of Information. It is in these ways that the Germans manifested their essential brutality to the people of the occupied countries. But, in other ways, I do not think that the people suffered any more privation than the people of Great Britain, who underwent their suffering voluntarily and curbed their appetites by self discipline.

Before I sit down, Mr. Chairman, I would like to touch upon the contribution which Great Britain has made to the prosecution of this war.

We all know that Britain stood alone and undaunted, with the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations beside her, for one breathless year—a year during which she was sending the output of her factories to the Middle East, while the Germans massed their strength no more than eighty miles from London. We know that she was gathering up her strength and mobilizing every resource she possessed, while the supplies her friends were trying to send her were being sent, with the ships that carried them in frightening quantities to the bottom of the ocean.

Perhaps it is not sufficiently borne in upon us how, without minerals, without hydro power, without oil, with practically no natural resources, she yet contrived to turn out in staggering numbers the most practical aircraft in every department now in use against the enemy—the Lancaster which carries the heaviest bomb load; the new Mosquito bomber which will carry as big a bomb load as a Flying Fortress and exposes only two men, requires no escort, and is so fast that it doesn't even require to be armed; the Spitfire which performs excellently at all altitudes and makes up in manoeuverability whatever it lacks in speed, and which is the direct lineal descendent of that ancestor which, with the Hurricane, won the Battle of Britain.

There is a British army group fighting in Burma. About half the American Fifth Army in Italy is British. About a third of the Canadian First Army is British. I think it necessary to keep these things in mind because the British are very poor at reciting their own accomplishments and stand very badly in need of the respect and sympathy of the world. Their position in the future, if they are to rely on their economic bargaining power alone, is very obscure and not too encouraging.

Apart from stiff rationing, the perpetual blackout and the unpleasant results of continuous bombardment, the British have had to turn their country into a forward base of operations for all of their allies. This has been a great trial. No matter how much you may love your friends and cousins and no matter how gratefully you receive their help, or how much you may need it, no one really enjoys having his house crowded with friends and relatives for a long period of time.

There is always somebody in the bathroom or into the icebox or using the telephone or occupying your favourite chair. This metaphor holds good for Britain. All the Englishman's amusements, shopping centres, public houses, hotels, taxis, and railway trains are crowded out with allied troops. True, they are there to help but it is much credit to the English people that they take the resulting inconvenience with patient good nature.

As time has progressed and they have come to know each other better the British and Canadians have become very good friends. There are still a number of petty irritations and differences of viewpoint but I noticed a great difference and a vast improvement in the cordiality of their relations since last I was in London in 1941.

The German bombardment of Great Britain is by no means over. Enemy aircraft seldom visit the island but the flying bomb and the rocket bomb are still being sent over in considerable quantities. I have examined specimens of the flying bomb which failed to explode and landed without too much damage. It is an ingenious apparatus, very cheaply made, but equipped with a number of contrivances to control its direction, range and altitude. In this respect it is rather like a torpedo. The flying bomb is driven by a jet-propulsion motor. The motor develops about one thousand horsepower and looks something like the heater in your car, except that it is about twice the size.

The flying bomb is no longer a serious menace because the anti-aircraft defenses can deal with it. Hundreds of them have been destroyed by fighter aircraft, anti-aircraft guns and the balloon barrage. I should think that probably not more than one in five reaches its destination.

The V-2 or rocket bomb is another matter. It is projected into the stratosphere and reaches a height of seven miles before it begins to drop. The only protection against it is to keep the areas from which it is launched under continual harrassing from the air so that the launching apparatus cannot be used.

As far as I can find out the V-2 requires no elaborate installation for setting it off. Its flight is controlled by apparatus within the rocket itself and all it requires is a firm surface from which to take off. I have seen many of them go up, or perhaps I should say I have seen the evidence that they have gone up because they travel too fast to be perceptible to the eye. On a clear day, you will suddenly notice a spiral trail of white vapour printed in the sky and if you look at the top of it very quickly, you will notice it grow longer. You will then know about a ton of high explosives is on its way either to Britain or some target in Belgium.

These weapons, the flying bomb and the V-2, are unpleasant enough but without military effect, for they cannot be directed with any precision. Their chief value, from the German point of view, has been to deceive the German people in to believing that effective reprisals were being taken against the allies for the dreadful damage which allied aircraft have been and are doing in Germany.

I talked with a Dutch doctor who had been pressed into service by the Germans because of the great shortage of doctors in Germany. He had travelled extensively throughout the country and he assured me that the damage done by our aircraft was beyond all conception. It must be remembered, however, that Germany is a very large target. It is not like Great Britain, where a quarter of the population is massed in one city, and about 60 per cent of the industry is comprised in an area of a few square miles. Until last summer, Germany was able to dissipate her industrial activity over the whole of western Europe. Each essential part of any piece of equipment could be made simultaneously in half a dozen different places so that it was practically impossible to bring production to a halt by bombing. Nevertheless, it could be and was seriously retarded.

Now that the enemy has been driven out of France and Belgium and is being forced to withdraw from Holland, his production problems will become acute because he will be compelled to concentrate all his productive efforts within a restricted and dwindling area. This can be subjected to intensive bombing, the effect of which will rapidly become critical. The need for maintaining widely distributed industries may account for the tenacity of German resistance in Italy, for Italy always was an industrial nation of consequence and her industries have been greatly extended and developed by the Germans. The whole of industrial Italy is still in German hands. Such cities as Turin, Milan, Padua. Cremona, Verona and Genoa are still capable of providing important supplies to the German army and the enemy, is not ready to abandon them to us, even though the line of retreat for troops is seriously threatened and there may be no chance of with-drawing more than a fraction of the 26 divisions which he now maintains in the Italian theatre of war.

The world has been watching with admiration and wonder the sensational advances of the Russian armies. So much so that it is inclined to forget the no less remarkable accomplishments of the Allied armies of the West. If the Dnieper, the Dniester, The Vug, the Pruth and the Oder, each in its turn, has presented a formidable defensive barrier to the sweep of the Russian Army, picture what a formidable barrier a water gap twenty-one miles wide at its narrowest must have been to the armies of the West. It is expected that it took 500 tons of paper to carry the necessary orders for the landing in Sicily. Several times this tonnage must have been used to plot and execute the landing operations in Normandy.

Landing craft of all kinds had to be constructed. Escort vessels and anti-aircraft equipment had to be obtained to protect them during their passage. Construction equipment was needed to set up air fields; great concrete tanks were built to be towed over and serve as docks and jetties. Until one has seen the amount of equipment that has to be massed in support of an army, one cannot realize what the task of accumulating it in a forward base like the British Isles, and then transporting it across water in the teeth of enemy resistance, must have been.

While I would not in any way detract from the magnificent accomplishments of the Russian armies, I must point out that they are situated on the same land mass as their enemies. All their resources are within their own country, with the exception of certain equipment which is supplied to them by Great Britain and the United States, and this equipment is delivered to their door in American and British ships or over the Trans-Iranian railway which was built for them by their Western allies. As we approach the climax of the war and begin to look past the days of campaigning as comrades in arms, it has become more and more necessary to appreciate fairly generously the contributions which each of the allies has made. It will not be possible to retain a temperate and reasonable atmosphere at the postwar conference, if any member of the fighting team believes that they deserve the large share of the credit and have been primarily responsible for the enemy's defeat.

Had the Royal Air Force not won the Battle of Britain, there would have been no forward base from which to attack the enemy in the West. Had the audacious policies of Mr. Churchill, and the brilliant generalship of Field Marshal Wavell, not held the enemy out of the Middle East, Russia might not have been able to hold the Crimea and the enemy would have laid his hands on the Anglo-Persian oil fields. Turkey would have gone in against us. The Arab States would have revolted and it would not have been possible to prevent the crisis in India from turning into disaster. Had it not been for the timely material and economic help from the United States to the British during those difficult days they could not have discharged their vital functions. And we owe it to the Russians that so many of the Germans were held on the Eastern front that we could overcome our natural disadvantages of external lines of supply and long sea routes, which made it so difficult to bring our military power to bear swiftly and at decisive points.

In all these various phases of the war, Canada has been called upon to play her part, and it has been a most important one. In the early days her function was to train airmen, to provide naval escort for shipping in addition to being the larder for British food and the manufacturer of all kinds of military equipment. Naturally, Canada has furnished some of the best shock troops at the disposal of Field Marshal Alexander in Italy, and Field Marshal Montgomery in the Lowlands. The contributions of sister dominions, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have been equally spectacular. The American campaign in the Pacific and the stubborn and successful battles which have been fought by the American armies in the Central sector of the Western front, not to mention the mass daylight bombing regularly carried out by the U.S. Army Air

Corps, these things are sufficient proof of American skill and tenacity and her genius for large scale production.

If we are to avoid the bitternesses, which were such a strain on international harmony after the last war, we must all be generous in our appraisal of the contributions made by our associates and allies. No one nation and no one factor is solely responsible for the defeat of the enemy and there is not one of the Allied Nations that has not contributed, according to its means and circumstances, the very most of which it was capable. No one needs to stand in awe of anybody else. American advances are frequently possible because British and Canadian troops are pinning down the main weight of German armour and transport. British advances in Africa could not have been made had the German army not been preoccupied with the bitter struggle in Russia. Russian advances today would not be possible without the paralyzing effect which British and United States bombers have had on German mobility and production. Let us remember these things in the coming peace.

"NEWFOUNDLAND"

An Address By

SIR JOHN PUDDESTER, LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, March 8, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: The past five years of war have seen a remarkable development in Trans-Atlantic flying. We now take the regular scheduled flights so much for granted that we scarcely recall that five short years ago a Trans-Atlantic flight in either direction was almost "headline" news.

In the development of the Trans-Atlantic Aerial Service, a most significant and vital part was centered in Britain's oldest colony in the New World—Newfoundland. On this account, in addition to the part taken by Newfoundland in guarding the Atlantic sea lanes, it is especially appropriate that The Empire Club today should devote its meeting to the affairs of our neighbor. We are privileged to have as our guest speaker Sir John Puddester.

Sir John Puddester was born at Northern Bay in Newfoundland and educated in high school and in the Methodist College in St. Johns. After three years in the teaching profession, he joined the staff of the Reid Newfoundland Company as accountant, and rose to become the assistant comptroller and auditor. From 1916 to 1932 he was on the staff of Robinson & Co. Ltd. as managing director of the *Daily News*. He was elected to the Legislature in 1924 and on his re-election in 1932 entered the Cabinet as Secretary of State.

When the Government was placed in the hands of a Commission in 1934, he was one of the six Commissioners to be appointed, and took charge of the Departments of Public Health, Welfare, Labor and Pensions. He was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Commission in 1937, an appointment which he still holds. In fact, he is the only one of the original Commissioners still in office. This record is the more creditable since in the past ten years of Commission Government, there have been 16 different appointees.

When King George VI visited Newfoundland in 1939, he personally conferred the degree of Knight Bachelor on Sir John for his distinguished service to his native land and to the Empire. He was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by Mount Allison University in New Brunswick in 1939.

Sir John served as Food Controller for Newfoundland from September, 1939, to April, 1944. He is a frequent traveller to Ottawa, Washington and London. He took a leading part in the opening of a fine new hospital recently in St. John's. He is active in the affairs of his church, as well as in education and is popular with the service men stationed in Newfoundland.

We especially welcome today among our guests, many who claim Newfoundland as their birthplace and have come to live with us here in Toronto.

It is a pleasure to present to The Empire Club, Sir John Puddester, LL.D., Vice-Chairman of the Commission Government of Newfoundland, who will now address us on "Newfoundland".

SIR JOHN PUDDESTER: Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada: My first word is one of sincere appreciation for the high honour that you have conferred upon me today in asking me to address this Empire Club. It is deeply appreciated because of the fact that you have thus honoured one who comes from the bleak shores of Newfoundland. You have heard lately that 63 per cent of our population, Sir, are half starved. Now, 63 per cent is a very large proportion of the people of Newfoundland, and I congratulate those Newfoundlanders whom I see before me today, because many of you were so lucky in getting away from Newfoundland before the days of starvation began.

This address or this talk that I am going to deliver to you today was prepared before I saw these articles, this adverse publicity in the Canadian Press. If this talk had not been prepared before, I can assure you it would have resulted in my delivering something different to you, and in a different tone, from what I am going to say today. I don't look half-starved and, as I said to a reporter the other day, I don't see very much difference between the people of Newfoundland, that I meet on Water Street in St. John's, and the people that I meet on Yonge Street in Toronto, or on St. Catherine Street in Montreal.

Moreover, you would think that I came here on a recruiting party, recruiting labour to come to Newfoundland and help to build the bases and build the airports. Well, there are about 25,000 men who claim to be fishermen in Newfoundland and of those 25.000 we had 22,000 working on the bases in 1942 and 1943, and as 25,000 was the extent of the labour engaged on the bases, we couldn't have imported very many men when we had 22,000 of our own working. Now, you people, be careful that I don't recruit you while I am here and take you down to Newfoundland to help in what we are going to build between now and the time the war is over.

However, Sir, by way of introduction, I want to talk to you a little bit about Newfoundland history. It is a large subject and my account must of necessity be somewhat sketchy; but I want to cover as much as I possibly can and give you at least the highlights of our history. I hope you will not be disappointed.

I accepted your invitation, Mr. President, because I believe that we in Newfoundland should have much closer co-operation with the people of Canada than we really have, and the people of Canada should have more contact, perhaps, than they have with the people of Newfoundland.

For instance, I got into a taxi-cab the other day and, starting up through the streets of Toronto, I fell into conversation with the driver. I said, "What is the number of this street?" He asked, "You don't know Toronto very well?"

I said, "I have quite a few friends here, I have been here quite a few times." He said, "Where do you come from?" "Newfoundland". "Oh, that is a wonderful country. That is where you keep the cattle pasturing all the year round."

I have met men, since I came to Toronto this last summer, who don't know much about Newfoundland, and if I can be of any assistance today, in telling you what and where Newfoundland is, what kind of history it has, the political outlook, and otherwise, I shall be very glad.

In no small measure the reason for this lack of knowledge is our proximity to a neighbour so huge in population, as we think Canada is, twelve million against our three hundred and twenty thousand, vastly industrialized and so favored with wealth, compared with Newfoundland.

When you visit the United States, you probably feel exactly as we Newfoundlanders do when we visit the great land of Canada. We are a people about one-third of the population of Toronto, having to carry on Government with an overhead as heavy as the government of any country with ten times its population but only equal, or even smaller, in square miles of territory.

Mr. Napier Moore, Editor of *MacLean's Magazine,* in an account of a trip to the United States in the January 15th issue of that excellent publication, tells of an incident where a university student in a Missouri city, to whom he showed a two dollar Canadian bill, was surprised that it should be in dollars and not in pounds. She said, "I listened to you talking about dollars but I thought you people in Canada used pounds and shillings." Well, that is somewhat similar to an experience met with in a Toronto newspaper office. A young Toronto Navy man, stationed in Newfoundland for some time and who was mothered by my wife at our home, was coming to Toronto for Christmas leave in 1943. I gave him money to pay my subscription to a Toronto newspaper and on visiting the office he was served by a young girl, to whom he paid the money and gave the other necessary information. She said in surprise, "So you have been to Newfoundland. What are the natives like? Are they nearly all Esquimaux? How did you exist in the cold climate? What kind of clothing did you wear?" et cetera. Well, the Toronto damsel was the most surprised person when she heard the true story of our Newfoundland mode of living from Warren Robinson, that excellent son of your excellent member of the Toronto Board of Education, Mrs. May Robinson.

Mr. Moore goes on to describe graphically some of the mighty industries and activities of the United States and says this: "There were times when, as a Canadian, I felt pretty small and humble". That, Mr. President, is just my feeling when I see the great cities of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and their great and mighty industries, the farm lands of Ontario and Quebec and the great prairie lands of Western Canada. Mr. Moore concludes by saying: "A nation of more than 130 million people is on the move". I say also, after visiting the railway stations and airports of Canada, that a nation of twelve million people is on the move.

Newfoundland: What and where is it? What kind of a history, political and economic, has it had? It is an Island situated at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and forms a stepping stone, so my old geography used to tell me, between the Old World and the New. It has the shape of an irregular triangle—from North to South it measures 316 miles and from East to West 317 miles. It has an area of 42,000 square miles. It has a coast line inclusive of its deep bays and inlets, of approximately 6,000 miles. It is in latitude 46°30' South and 51°30' West—approximately the same latitude as Paris, capital of France. Its dependency, Labrador, has an area of 110,000 square miles and a coast line of 1,200 miles. It is about the tenth island, in size, in the world.

Discovery and Colonization: It was discovered by John Cabot and his son Sebastian in the year 1497. Several attempts were made at colonization during the next two hundred years. In 1583 the Island was taken possession of by Sir Humphry Gilbert in the name of Queen Elizabeth. Colonization was slow from then onwards and the idea seemed to prevail that it was only a land of fishermen with whom the West Coast of England merchants could trade. They would come to Newfoundland every spring and return in the fall. It was looked upon as a land, where people came in the summer season to fish for cod, and nothing more.

Population: This has been of a very slow growth. Up to the beginning of the present century the population was not more than 220,000. Since then it has reached around the 320,000 mark. To be exact, at the last census, 1935, Newfoundland and Labrador together had a population of 289,516. In the ten-year period since then another thirty thousand should be added, making it, as I say, around 320,000. The capital is St. John's, with a population of about 60,000. Other fairly large towns are Corner Brook and Grand Falls, two paper mill towns, with populations around 8,000 to 10,000. The remainder of the population is scattered around the coast line in about 1,300 settlements and towns, almost 1,000 of which are populated by less than 100 people.

Lord Ammon Leader of the Good Will Mission of 1943, has this to say of its people. "I should here record my appreciation of the integrity, shrewdness and high level of intelligence of the Newfoundlanders. They are, on the whole, a kindly, hospitable people, hard-working yet easy-going, well-mannered but outspoken, thrifty but generous to strangers. Living in close contact with nature, employed for the most part on hard and often dangerous manual work, they have an ingrained healthy contempt for danger; an easy—perhaps too easy—philosophy that tomorrow will look after itself, and an ability to turn their hands to anything from boat-building to home construction. Their aptitude as seamen is well-known, and their contribution in man-power to this war requires no comment here. It would be hard to find a more loyal and delightful people".

Early Settlement and Colonization: It may be interesting to give a few figures relative to the growth of the English population. I have said that colonization was slow; there were, of course, definite obstacles in the way of those who wished to settle.

In those early days the prolific fisheries were the token of all wealth, and those who controlled the fisheries exercised a monopoly, which for a time shaped the political, economic and social life of the country. During all the preceding years from the earliest days to 1774, Newfoundland had witnessed a struggle between the English merchants who controlled the fisheries, and persons who wished to establish themselves as permanent residents.

The participation of many nations in the profits of the Newfoundland fisheries indicates how prolific that source of wealth was, and how eagerly those adventurers of Europe came on their ships to crowd her waters in the days before colonization had begun. We find one Anthony Parkhurst, a merchant of Bristol, England, describing conditions as he found them during his several voyages to the Island, prior to 1578. In that year Parkhurst counted one hundred sail of Spaniards cod-fishing; thirty Spanish ships killing whales; fifty sail of Portuguese; one hundred and fifty sail of French, and of English only fifty sail.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, found in the harbour of St. John's, twenty Spanish and Portuguese ships, and sixteen English ships, but the English and French soon eliminated all other contenders. Gradually, the English superceded all others, and having obtained a virtual monopoly of the trade, there were those who wished to keep the Island as a haven for transient fishermen from the West of England, a sort of mother ship, as it were, anchored near the fishing grounds for temporary use during the fishery season.

The resident population grew slowly. In 1710 there were but eight hundred permanent residents in the whole country. In 1738 these had increased to eighteen hundred souls, while in 1754 there were thirty-four hundred persons. At that time (1754) the members of English ships' crews engaged in fishing, who returned to England each year when the fishery ended, totalled forty-five hundred, and out-numbered the settlers. However, between 1764 and 1774 permanent residents continuously outnumbered visitors with an annual average of 12,340.

Strategical Importance: The desires of those early fishery monopolists to restrict settlement of the Island resulted in some peculiar legislative enactments by Governments in Britain.

The cultivation of the soil by permanent residents, or for that matter by any other person, was strictly forbidden. Here is the wording of a Proclamation issued by the Governor of the Island in 1810—Sir John Duckworth:—"Whereas I have observed, and otherwise understood, that enclosures have been made to great extent and land cultivated throughout the district of Conception Bay, without any grant for that purpose or authority from the Governor of any description, all persons are hereby warned that, as such proceeding is in direct opposition to the positive instructions of His Majesty, if anyone shall attempt to make any enclosure or to occupy land for the purposes of cultivation or otherwise it will be at the imminent risk of forfeiting all the labour and expense that he may have bestowed upon it, as he would assuredly be dispossessed the moment it should come to the knowledge of the Governor."

Many selfish restrictions were imposed at the instance of fishery monopolists to prevent the permanent colonization and development of Newfoundland. But by 1775 the tables were turning, and we find the number of inhabitants increasing in 1797 to seventeen thousand, and in 1804 to twenty thousand, and in 1882 to fifty-two thousand, without any corresponding increase on the part of the transient fishermen.

But the French were not to relinquish their asserted claim to the wealth of Newfoundland's fisheries without a struggle, and so for many years there was keen rivalry between England and France for control of Newfoundland. There was indeed a very good reason why Newfoundland was then to be only a battle ground in the cause of the Empire. The two great colonizing powers of England and France were beginning to establish themselves on the American mainland and the great Island of Newfoundland was standing, a stern and rugged sentinel across the great St. Lawrence waterway.

Virginia was colonized in 1609; the Pilgrim Fathers landed to establish New England a few years later. Lord Baltimore, formerly Sir George Calvert, established Maryland in 1632, having moved from Newfoundland where he established Ferryland on the southeastern seaboard—all English colonies.

And what of France? She, too, was not idle during that period. The ships of Cartier had carried the flag of France to America's shores, and in that perilous path the gallant Champlain followed. Port Royal (Montreal) became a French colony in 1604 and Quebec followed in 1608. After that came the great La Salle, who carved a way from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, with the ambitious plan to cut off English settlers from western expansion.

And so the possession of Newfoundland was of great strategic value to both France and England in those days. You have only to look at the map to see its great importance. Historians give to Sir Walter Raleigh the credit for great political insight when he wrote of Newfoundland: "If she should be lost it would be the greatest blow that was ever given to England." When Raleigh wrote that statement, Newfoundland was being shaped as the overseas corner stone of a greater Britain, chiselled and laid by men who even then builded better than they knew.

During the war years that followed, which saw the gigantic struggle between England and France for supremacy in sea-power and world trade, Newfoundland's strategic position astride the Gulf of St. Lawrence was enhanced. Nor have the centuries diminished it, for in today's tremendous struggle for the preservation of 'Our Way of Life' the old Island stands a sturdy guardian of security for the millions of free people who live on the American Continent.

Those early settlers in Newfoundland endured much in common with all pioneers of our Western civilization. Their path was beset with economic difficulties. The war years, from 1800 to 1815, greatly reduced the number of voyages made by transient fishermen from Britain, and the inhabitants gradually acquired and maintained a monopoly of the fisheries. In 1824 the increasing strength and importance of the inhabitants secured the repeal of certain oppressive and absolete fishing enactments, and the Island was stepped up to the status of a Colony.

There was great prosperity during the War of 1812 for Newfoundland, but after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, when peace was restored by the Treaty of Paris, fishing privileges of French and American fishermen were enlarged around the banks and shores of Newfoundland. Not only were foreign fishermen enabled to compete in the same field of production but the Governments of those countries, namely France and the United States, established a system of bounties for their fishermen, and by also imposing high import duties, blocked the entry of Newfoundland fish into their own markets. Lean years followed for the Newfoundland colonists, and a terrible fire in 1817 augmented their troubles.

The period from 1834 to 1841 saw many organized attempts to foster agriculture. Liberal grants of land were made to settlers. Considerable sums of money were provided for road construction. The inventoin of steam made possible a regular mail service with the outside world. But again in 1846 came a horrible disaster through fire, to the City of St. John's, causing damage to the value of $5,000,000; and twelve thousand persons were rendered homeless. Canada quickly came to the aid of the stricken population, other assistance from England, and local private efforts aided many families to overcome the pressing needs of the moment.

But the great fire of 1846 was not the only tragic event. A great storm, said by a historian to have been "fiercer than the wildest within living memory", destroyed the bulk of shipping and swept away many substantial warehouses and stores. As one writer of that day put it, "the malice of destiny had sent the gale to destroy the little that had escaped the fire," for the temporary buildings, being used to house the homeless, were destroyed also.

In 1892, on July 8th, came the most disastrous of all the fires that had afflicted St. John's, the Island capital. A mile of wharfage was destroyed, and the business section was wiped out completely. Ten thousand persons were rendered homeless, and the total damage was more than twenty millions of dollars. As in 1846, the sympathy of the Canadian people was promptly and warmly shown.

Climate: The climate is temperate. Seldom does the thermometer fall below zero in winter or rise above 80° in summer. This applies to the coastal settlements. In the interior at Bishop's Falls the temperature sometimes descends to ten below, but this is not often. And the present winter we have just passed has been the mildest in thirty years in contra-distinction with what you have had in Toronto. You may think we have had nothing but gales or snow, but I have never yet heard of a street car turning over on its own tracks.

Newfoundand decidedy is not as cold as the Prairie Provinces of Canada or the Middle West of the United States. In fact this climate has been stated by visiting writers to be quite salubrious. Our disadvantage is a short summer with a long drawn out spring, especially if the east wind prevails.

I was telling Dr. Cochrane, when he came down two or three years ago, that he was lucky to come in the summer because we have just three seasons in Newfoundland, so the wags say, July, August, and Winter. Those of you who come in July and August will find the climate quite salubrious and I am sure you will enjoy it. Don't come, please, in March or April, but any other month in the year you can come down.

Religion: According to statistics of the 1935 census, Roman Catholics numbered 94,000; Church of England 92,500; Noncomformists 100,000, and Jews and other sects, 2,700.

Nationality: Out of the total population in 1935, only 653 persons were not of British descent. It is often said that we are more British than the British Isles. And we boast of our loyalty to the British Crown. We keep a number of holidays in this connection, in addition to a number of commercial holidays—for instance, the King's Birthday, Empire Day, St. George's Day, April 23rd, St. Patrick's Day, March 17, Robbie Burns' Anniversary, January 25th, with the 12th of July, the Orangemen's Day, thrown in for good measure.

Education: Education is administered by a Department of the Central Government presided over by a Commissioner. We have made some progress known as Denominational. In the Department there is a permanent head, known as the Secretary for Education, who may belong to any of the religious denominations. Under him are Chief Executive Officers and Assistant Executive Officers for each of the principal religious denominations. There is also a staff of Supervisors for each denomination.

The grants are administered by the Chief Executive Officers under the Secretary. In 1942, free and compulsory education was introduced in the Elementary schools for children from seven to fourteen years of age. The education grant is voted each year by the Central Government. Last year the grant was approximately three million dollars. In the early 'Nineties of the last century the grant was only one hundred thousand dollars. During the 'Nineties it had very gradually moved to one million dollars.

Forty Rhodes Scholars have graduated from Oxford

University. We have a University College affiliated with some of the universities of Canada. We hope to have a new Newfoundland University within another year or so. Many students have come to Canada for a university education and remained, making Canada their land of adoption. Notable among them are E. J. Pratt, the poet of Victoria College, Toronto; Wm. G. Boyle, the scientist of Ottawa. In the days of the last century, we sent you a Sir Thomas Roddick. The United Church of Canada must and does give credit to the Newfoundland Conference of that Church for hundreds of its Ministers, now ministering all over Canada, who served their probationery period around the rugged shores of Newfoundland. In Toronto you have, amongst many others, Very Rev. Dr. Peter Bryce. In and around the City of Montreal there are fourteen Ministers of the United Church who claim Newfoundland as their native place. When South York sought a man to contest an election against the Ex-Prime Minister of Canada, it selected as a candidate an ex-Newfoundlander who came to Canada for an education.

I am not by any means saying that it was the right thing for South York to do, but it did it, and that is their business, not mine.

One of the senior Professors of Emmanuel College, who is engaged in preparing Ministers for the work of the United Church, was a Newfoundland probationer. He, like hundreds, yea thousands, of others came to Canada, as I said, for a university education and remained to enrich Canadian education and culture.

Government: The Government of Newfoundland has been of seven forms. 1, Fishing Admirals; 2, Governors; 3, Governor and Council; 4, Representative Government; 5, Amalgamated Government; 6, Responsible Government; 7, Government by Commission. The last has been the form since 1934. You may be interested in a short description of each form.

1. Fishing Admirals. The master of the first English fishing vessel arriving each spring at any coastal port became, for that season, Admiral of that port; the second

arrival the Vice-Admiral, and the third the Rear-Admiral. They were answerable, very loosely, to the officer commanding the naval convoy ships which came here in summer to patrol the coast and convoy the vessels across the Atlantic in the autumn. St. John's, which almost from the beginning has been the Island capital, was usually governed by the commandant of the military garrison. He bore the title of "Governor"; and in his absence during the winter the officer he left in charge was known as "Lieutenant-Governor".

2. Governors. In 1729 this system was partially superceded by the appointing of a Governor of Newfoundland with a Royal Commission under Letters Patent and Royal Instructions. He resided at St. John's, but a few Governors visited some of the coast. He came in the late spring and returned to England with the convoy in the autumn. He was almost invariably the Commodore of the naval convoy fleet. In 1818 the Governor was required to live all the year around in Newfoundland.

3. Governor and Council. In 1825 single-handed rule by the Governor was modified by the creation of a sort of Advisory Council. The members of the Council were selected by the Governor and immediately answerable to him.

4. Representative Government. In 1832 Representative Government came. There was an elected Lower House, with an Upper House consisting of members selected and appointed by the Governor. This was actually the old Advisory Council somewhat glorified, and the Government consisted mainly of the Governor and this Legislative Council, or Upper House. The Government was in no sense or degree responsible to the popular assembly.

5. Amalgamated Government. This was instituted in 1843 and lasted until 1848. It was a crude attempt to combine the institution of Representative Government with Responsible Government without conceding the latter. Both Houses sat together.

6. Responsible Government. This commenced in 1855

and was superseded in 1934. Under it there continued the Lower or Elective House and the Upper House or Legislative Council. The Government, which was formed by the Leader of the majority party in the popular chamber, was responsible to that House, and could stand only as long as it enjoyed the confidence of the elected representatives.

7. The Commission of Government. Under new Letters Patent and Royal Instructions, Newfoundland is ruled by the Governor (who is appointed by the King, as always in the past) assisted by a Commission of Government, the members of which are also appointed by the King upon the advice of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. Three of the six Commissioners are to come from the United Kingdom and three from Newfoundland.

The Governor is to be the Chairman and it is provided in the Letters Patent that a Newfoundland member is to be Vice-Chairman. The administration of public affairs is carried on by six departments, over each of which a Commissioner presides. Matters of general interest are handled by the Commission of Government as a whole. All decisions of the Commission of Government may be reviewed by the Secretary of State. The Commission of Government is required to submit a general annual report of its work to the Dominions Office, which in turn presents it to the British Parliament.

The suspension of Responsible Government, and of the Letters Patent which guaranteed it, is stated in the new and present Letters Patent to be temporary. In other words, Responsible Government and Newfoundland's status as a Dominion is suspended for the time being. Responsible Government is to be restored (a) when the country becomes self-supporting again, and (b) upon request from the people of Newfoundland.

Government of Today: I am sure you are now asking a question which runs something like this:—Well, what in the world happened in 1934 that you should have relinquished Responsible Government for Government by

Commission. The answer is a long story. It is the history of the country during almost one hundred years.

There have been many reasons given for the step that was taken in 1934. I may tell you what I personally think was the matter—and it is this—the eventual upheaval in 1933-34 was caused by the fact that during almost 90 years Newfoundland was conducting a government such as it could not afford. The people did not have the earning power from which the wherewithal to run a government could be found. The people could not contribute money when they did not earn it. Some people advocated direct taxation, but it was tried only on a limited scale. It would, in my opinion, have been the worst kind of folly to have enforced it. I have not time in this talk to explain why.

Borrowing had to be resorted to, and to make matters worse, it had to be external borrowing. Up to the turn of the century borrowing was kept within bounds. From 1910 to 1931 large borrowing was resorted to and in the ten years, 1921-31 the country borrowed approximately fifty million dollars. In other words, in that decade we doubled our National Debt. Previous to 1920 we fought a War, 1914-18, which cost us millions of dollars to finance. Since 1919 a war pension bill of approximately $750,000 per annum had to be shouldered. Now, that may not mean much to you people in Canada where you have twelve millions but it means a terrible lot to Newfoundland with only 300,000 people. We built, since 1881, nine hundred miles of railway and equipped it, at a cost to the people of about forty-five million dollars. These two items alone were large and burdensome enough to swamp a country double and treble our population. It was financed on borrowed money.

In the 'Twenties our people demanded a better standard of living. Then in 1931 came the great depression. Our exports were almost valueless from 1931 to 1941. Our revenue was little more than enough to meet the debt interest. Labour for our people was out of the question. Fishermen could not purchase supplies to catch fish and even if they did get the supplies the fish caught was of little value. The fisherman after each voyage found himself in debt, with no money to purchase food for his family for the winter season. With a population of only about 290,000 what could we do? Well, for good or ill, the elected representatives of the people decided to relinquish their government, and the Mother Country took us on.

May I apply this picture to your city of Toronto. Newfoundland's population, as I said a moment ago, is about one-third of that of the city of Toronto. Think of one-third of the people of your city having to govern a country containing 6,000 miles of coast line, build railways, fight a four years war, provide for the education of its youth, establish postal and telegraph facilities, build highroads and all other kinds of communicating roads, provide aids to navigation, etc., and as far as possible give the people the amenities and comforts of life.

To make matters worse in the 'Twenties the Canadian and United States Governments put a bar on immigration. Thus our people were deprived of the earning power which they found for many years in the United States and Canada.

For almost one hundred years these were the problems we were trying to solve. The dam burst in 1931 when, as a country, our borrowing powers suddenly ceased. The Canadian banks established in Newfoundland since 1895 refused the underwriting of any further loans. We had no banks of our own. The two local banks failed in 1894; that failure brought on a crisis almost equal to that of 1931. England came to our help in 1894 and arranged a loan. In 1895 we sent delegates to Ottawa to ask Canada to consider taking us into Confederation. But it was not thought wise by your Government of that day to subsidize us to the extent of a few hundreds of thousands of dollars. By the way, it was a Conservative Government, both by name and nature, which made that decision. Since then we have not troubled you further.

Speaking of the early history of Newfoundland and relating it to the last fifty years of Responsible Government, a recent writer in the Newfoundland press had this to say:

"No one likes to reveal the skeletons in his cupboard, but you cannot talk of history without revealing the facts, pleasant and unpleasant. Settlement in Newfoundland was long prohibited. The residents of the Island before that time were deserters, people who did not want to return to England for one reason or another, and perhaps a number of others to whom a hard pioneering life in Newfoundland was preferable to poverty at home. These were the foundations of our population and to remain in this Island they were forced to disperse all over the country. They settled in the scattered coves not only because they wanted fishing grounds of their own but also because they wanted to escape the notice of the Naval Governors who spent the summer on the coast and could hardly take time off to seek for deserters and other illicit settlers in every nook and cranny of the indented coastline. Yet these settlers and the few thousands who swelled their numbers after 1814 were the men who won Representative Government for Newfoundland."

"They were happy in their leadership for men with patriotism and guts were plentiful in those far off times. But dispersal, individualism and poverty were terrible handicaps to the first Colonial Governments with their paltry few hundred thousands on which to carry on the administration of the country. They had few educational opportunities and no opportunity to learn anything of political science. They were either dependent on their merchants who, when they were unable to find the means of tiding their people over bad times, were compelled to leave them with no other sources of help than the Government."

"Thus through the period of lawful colonization restrictive forces, operating thousands of miles away, combined with poverty and an untoward reliance on Government in time of trouble, combined to create the politics of the post-1914 period, in which the people looked to the Government and the candidates for Parliament. Many of them, men of high moral repute, were compelled to cater to the people or surrender all hope of election. There were corrupt politicians. I admit that. But in the main the deterioration in politics was a consequence of the demands of the people on the politicians."

I am sure some of the M.P.'s before me will agree with that—especially Mr. McNicol.

"Now that", the writer goes on to say, "is putting it rather badly. I should perhaps qualify this and soften its effect, but the essential fact is there, and we who condemn the politicians of the past are partly answerable for the acts for which we condemn them."

"But the point I want to impress upon you is this. Politicians were as much the victims of circumstances as the people were the victims of politicians. We cannot condemn one without condemning the other. Only as we can triumph over circumstances can we make a success of any kind of government and therein lies the test of our fitness for restored autonomy".

I am quite sure that you in Canada have had somewhat similar experiences as regards the public and the politicians. Have not your demands on the politicians been heavy? I have read about some of them—especially when elections are pending.

And so in 1931 the crisis came. We struggled for almost three years before final action was taken. In the fall of 1932 we wanted one and a quarter million dollars to square our accounts. The banks refused accommodation unless guarantees were given. We appealed to the Mother Country. By an arrangment for the acceptance of a Royal Commission, the United Kingdom and Canada jointly guaranteed the amount. In March, 1933, a Royal Commission was appointed. It consisted of Right Hon. Lord Amulree, a Labour Peer, as Chairman and as the nominee of the United Kingdom, Mr. C. A. Magrath of Ottawa as the nominee of Canada and Sir William Stavert of Montreal as the nominee of Newfoundland. In November of the same year the report of that Commission was published. Its recommendations were accepted by all the governments concerned and on February 16th, 1934, Responsible

Government and Dominion status were suspended and Newfoundland became a Dominion in suspended animation. Since that day the Government has been carried on by a Commission the composition of which I have aready explained.

Now it would not be ethical for me to extol the achievements of the Commission. Let me say that it has some accomplishments to its credit. Newfoundland since 1939 has not taken a penny from the United Kingdom by way of grant in aid. From 1934 to 1939 the Mother Country looked after the deficits incurred. From 1934 to 1937 the British Treasury was somewhat reluctant to give us large grants in aid for rehabilitation purposes. No doubt it was believed that our trouble was political and not economic. It was clearly seen during the latter period that our trouble was almost wholly economic and not political, and the policy became more generous. Grants in aid were freely given from that time to extend our social services. Hospitals were built to the number of fifteen throughout the country. The Tuberculosis Sanitorium was doubled in capacity. The old General Hospital in St. John's was enlarged and modernized. The education grant today is six times greater than it was in 1934. Highroads have been extended by hundreds of miles.

Since 1941 prosperity has shone upon us. Today, instead of the Government begging with hat in hand for a few dollars to pay our bills, we have a deposit account in the Bank of Montreal of over thirteen million dollars and an almost like amount on loan to the Mother Country, interest free as a contribution from a small but grateful daughter country to help win the war.

A prominent Newfoundlander recently speaking in Canada has this to say of Newfoundland's experiment in government: "We are now neither a Dominion nor a Crown Colony—the nearest definition one can reach is that we are a Colony with suspended Dominion status—or, as one wag put it, a Dominion on leave of absence. I believe that the experiment has been watched with some interest by other countries. I do not think that any disinterested observer could say it has been a failure; indeed, it has large number of real accomplishments to its credit, which would measure up to any similar period in the country's history."

"Its one great lack has been that of the Public Forum, where representatives chosen by the people, well or ill, debate and influence, for even in these days Parliaments do sometimes influence, public policy. Government by Commission has been an autocracy, albeit a particularly benevolent one, and the natural tendency of all autocracies is to regard anything but work as rather a waste of time, with which of course no good parliamentarian would ever agree. Thus they withdraw more and more from within the focus of the fierce light which beats perpetually upon Parliaments. In many ways this may be a desirable thing, but there seems to be something in the Parliament system of government, which, while at close view an irritant (at least always to a section of the governed), is in balance most suited to the temperament of some peoples."

"It has been said that "Truth is hammered out on the anvil of debate", and while other things are also often hammered out, our span of life is too short to permit us to see, or even judge, the distant use or the ultimate ends. It may be that the story of England and of the British Empire has left us with a divine dissatisfaction of anything else and that, while we recognize the weaknesses of the Parliamentary system, some of them grave indeed, it is so essentially a part of us that "without it is not anything that is made".

I think it is generally accepted that at some time Newfoundland will return to the Parliamentary system of-government, perhaps in the not distant future. At least, after the War in Europe is ended, the people will be asked to vote by way of plebiscite as to the form of government they want. There are many within Newfoundland who shrink from what they feel may be too premature a move in this direction and their fears spring from consideration of the factors which undoubtedly played a major part in bringing about the suspension of the Constitution in 1934. There is also a reluctance to go back to the old political system and to the ways of the old political parties of the first thirty years of the Twentieth Century, with the bitterness and animosities engendered during political elections.

No one realizes better than we that the prosperity enjoyed today by Newfoundland, while sorely needed, is a fleeting one, and that the post-war years will bring their trials and struggles. Much ground has been gained, but no country can in a few years endow its future. What is to be the future? What can be done to temper the winds of adversity which racked Newfoundland so fiercely in the past? These are questions which will tax all the vision, all the ingenuity and all the courage of government in Newfoundland. I believe too that they are questions in which our continental neighbours, Canada and the United States, should exhibit a sympathetic interest, from a broad rather than a narrow viewpoint.

There has been displayed, during the war, a community of interests and action with respect to Newfoundland, in which that country itself has played a not insignificant part. This fact will be abundantly evident when the story of the Battle of the Atlantic, on sea and in the air, can be written, and the epic tale of the unending stream of planes from hemisphere to hemisphere can be told. The considerations which brought this about have been continental if not hemispherical. The benefit derived has been mutual, and Newfoundland, on its part, has much, including many acts of consideration and courtesy, for which to be grateful. It is a mistake to think that the necessity for this approach will end with the war; it should be cultivated rather than neglected, for in neglect there is decay. I commend this policy to you as representing the great Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland I believe will be quite willing to continue it.

And now may I conclude with Newfoundland's national ode:

When sunrays crown thy pine-clad hills,
And Summer spreads her hand,
When silvern voices tune thy rills,
We love thee, smiling land,
We love thee, we love thee,
We love thee, smiling land.

When spreads thy cloak of shimmering white
At Winter's stern command;
Through shortened day and star-lit night
We love thee, frozen land,
We love thee, we love thee,
We love thee, frozen land.

When blinding storm-gusts fret thy shore,
And wild waves lash thy strand;
Through spindrift, swirl and tempest roar,
We love thee, wind-swept land,
We love thee, we love thee,
We love thee, wind-swept land.

As loved our fathers so we love,
Where once they stood, we stand;
This prayer we raise to Heaven above,
God guard thee, Newfoundland,
God guard thee, God guard thee,
God guard thee, Newfoundland.

"EUROPE—A SEARCH FOR IDEAS"

AN ADDRESS BY

JAMES SMITH-ROSS

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, March 15, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: There are not many people in this country who use the hyphenated form in their surnames. The name of Smith is not unknown here, nor is the surname Ross, but our telephone book only records one telephone number where these names are linked with a hyphen. The party who bears this unusual title is Mr. James Smith-Ross, our guest speaker for today.

Mr. Smith-Ross is not a stranger to The Empire Club. A year ago this week, in fact, he was our guest speaker and addressed us on the subject of "The Empire in a Changing World".

Mr. Smith-Ross is an author, editor and traveller. He has visited Europe each year, even during the war. Indeed, he is only back in Toronto a few weeks since his most recent visit.

Mr. Smith-Ross is entitled to an honorable mention also on another count. In the army they use reserves when needed; in baseball they have the pinch-hitter; but in Toronto we have Smith-Ross. His first appearance on this platform was a brief talk in December, 1943, when our guest speaker failed to arrive. Last year, he came to us in March instead of an April date, which had been accepted, and, today again, he has been good enough on about twenty-four hours notice to accept an invitation when the speaker who was announced to be our guest today was taken ill.

I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. James Smith-

Ross, who will address us on "Europe—A Search for Ideas".

MR. JAMES SMITH-ROSS: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Members of The Empire Club, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Radio Audience: My work as a publisher, and before that as a businessman, concerned itself with the basic ideas that govern human behavior. I have always tried to keep my attention focused on practical matters, but it seems to me the longer one lives, the more it seems that to get at the truth of the simplest human act one has to dig very deeply, sometimes so deeply that the earth closes in about one and one loses sight of the sun and of one's fellow beings.

There is little enough to encourage man to search for knowledge. You may remember the words of Solomon: "The thing that has been is that which shall be and there is no new thing under the sun."

And the Persian Bard, Omar Khayam, having spent a lifetime searching for the truth, finally could say nothing better than to advise men to fill their cup with wine and forget the riddle of life.

Then there was Socrates, than whom no one had a better insight into human nature. The best that he could say with his last breath was: "I owe a coch to Aesculapius" By that I suppose he meant either that he had neglected to pay tribute to the gods during his lifetime or that in fact he did owe a coch to Aesculapius, and that life was made up of a lot of trivialities. For simplicity his last words are matched only by those of Voltaire, who finally summed up all his life's philosophy by saying, "Well, we must cultivate our gardens." As if he said, "That is all very fine but get on with the job."

Through this last summer, having completed and established the job that was very near to my heart, I decided to let go and to detach myself and to see whether in Europe, with the tremendous stimulating atmosphere of war, I might not be able to marshal the great confusion of ideas in the world and my mind, and to see whether I could come back with a few simple premises that could be of practical service.

The report I will give you now is the summary of my search and my journey. I came away, not with any new discoveries in the realm of thought but with fresh confirmation of a rule of life which I consider good for man and for nations, and now I suppose, like Clemenceau, I will spend the rest of my days writing the same article and delivering the same address in different ways.

This finality in my mind may seem to you like an immaturity, but I am very glad that I have faced the question of making a firm decision of what I want in the world, in Canada and in myself.

The four most significant nations in Europe, in my opinion, are Britain, Italy, France and Russia. I visited the first three, as well as Holland and Belgium. I loved all three for different reasons and I shall be very glad if, as well as being a citizen of the British Empire, I could also be a citizen of Italy and France. Those who press me to become fanatical in my allegiance to things Canadian must first show me how I can also in the same embrace hold a deep love of Italy and France.

It happens that I have spoken French and Italian since my childhood and therefore I was able to get very near to the people of those countries. Italy, I think, will go back to the Church, with fervour and humility. That is why I think she is a significant country. In Europe I think she will head the list of those who will throw themselves back on the altar and say, "Lord, forgive my vanity, forgive me for believing that I knew better than the ageless Church. I resign my will, my hopes, my adoration, to the Church. I will obey her commands. I will put ambition away from me."

Of course there are many Italians who scoff at this attitude, because, they say, it is a return to medieval superstition and is a denial of man's reasoning ability. There is a strong extreme Socialist faction in Italy. They tend to say the Church is fundamentally to blame for having discouraged the people of Italy to think courageously, and if these Socialists should prevail in Italy, the Church there is in for a difficult time, to put it mildly. I think the Socialists or Communists would curb the power of the Church as they did in Russia and as they did in France after the Revolution. Many Italians are tremendously impressed by the achievements of Russia and they realize they are more advanced than the Russians were when they revolted. Yet they say, "Look what Russia has been able to do. In twenty-five years she has become almost the dominant nation of the world."

It is always a source of regret to me when people fail to specify in speaking of Russian advancement that it is an advancement of a physical nature. I think it is confusing not to tabulate things properly.

The fight of ideas in Italy, in my view, is therefore between those who feel that there should be this humble return to the adoration of the Church and those who feel that a passionate bid should be made for a socialized state. Of course the Monarchy is sidling along with the Church, hopefully. I think as far as the opinion of the masses is concerned, the Church is ahead, but I suppose it would be a mistake to underestimate the strong appeal of the Socialist claims.

In Italy I saw the delicate featured, beautiful children of cultured Italians cleaning the shoes of coarse African and Indian soldiers. Can't you hear an Italian saying, "Lord, my children are well bred, beautiful and gentle. They have great artistry and a love of beauty. These soldiers, whose shoes they clean, are primitive and coarse. O Lord, why is it so?"

How would we answer that question? By discovering the answer, we can avoid a similar fate perhaps for our own children in years to come.

I hope many Canadians will visit Italy after the war. Rome, I think, is the most beautiful city in the world. They have lovely wide streets, beautiful marble-faced buildings, and breath-takingly lovely monuments. Strangely enough, many of the people are fair. I wonder whether the people of Rome would exchange the beauty of their city for all the wealth of Toronto? I suppose they would.

Before leaving Italy, I should like to tell you of an experience I had in Naples. I went to the top of the mountain and I wanted to look across the Bay at Capri. It is a beautiful sight on a sunny day. Although it was November the sun was shining beautifully. I saw the sight and then I wandered into a little cafe and ordered a glass of wine. It was good wine—rather strong I thought, but I ordered another glass and that is the last I distinctly remember. A couple of Italian ex-service men, I vaguely remember, came into the place. One took me by one arm and other by the other and they started me off to what I suppose was their house. There was a statuesque looking woman there. She was very beautiful. They saw my condition and removed my battle dress and put me to bed. Well, seven hours or so later I was taken back to the street. I thought what had happened to me? These people have been very kind to me at a time when I had perhaps indulged "not wisely but too well." When I staggered back to my hotel, I found they had enriched themselves with my small belongings.

I remembered in Egypt after the last war there were many places found where British soldiers had been robbed, and I suppose were killed and buried underground, and with that recollection in my mind I remembered to thank the Lord for my continued existence.

I don't blame those Italians. I felt lucky. I thought they had done the thing very gently. I remembered there was music in the restaurant and Italian music I find very lovely, but really the poverty of Naples is indescribable. I saw at least one child faint in the street. Nobody pays much attention. The hunger and the poverty are very depressing.

A much travelled man once said to me, "The Italians are the salt of the earth." I said, "Yes, but why did they kill our soldiers?" Why do gentle people kill? What causes these things? I know from my knowledge of Italy that ninety per cent of the Italian people like the English and despise the Germans. Why was it then that they killed Englishmen and helped the Germans?

I took my bag of questions next to France. I remember one night, as I entered my hotel, I found an American officer leaning against the wall, looking up at the buildings. He grabbed me by the arm—they are generally pretty friendly—and he said, "What is it about this city that makes you feel so free? I am an American, which I hope is fairly obvious. My country is supposed to be the freest country in the world. In my country I don't feel free. Here, I feel wonderful." Of course he had had a drink or two—I expect that helped. But he stretched out his arms as if he would embrace the whole world.

But actually in Paris, when I was there, people were on the borders of dire hunger. A Frenchman said to me, "Why is it everybody talks about the soul of France? Why doesn't somebody talk about the stomach of France?" And I agreed heartily. I think the best slogan for France would be "Roast Beef for Resurrection". They need food. They need food very badly. Most French people will tell you that France was corrupt before the war. Are they interpreting the facts correctly or are they making another of these ghastly mistakes analytically, which will drive them back? Morality is not a question of "who beats who".

I knew France. I worked there as a youngster. She was not more corrupt than Germany or any other European nation. There was much there to make a man happy. There were corrupt people at the top but that is a very different thing. I suppose a nation is not what the few at the top are but what all her people are and the people of France were poor.

The fight of ideas in France, as I saw it, is between those with a continued faith in logic and those who have a feeling that they should return to animal discipline. This, I think, is the danger in France. People say France needs a strong man to guide her destiny but that is what the people of Germany used to say.

Will France be democratic after this war? That is not as easy a question to answer as you think. When I was in Paris the censor forbade any severe criticism of De Gaulle. It was a known thing to see daily in the newspapers great chunks of space just bodily taken out by the censor. I think the mood of the French people at present is such that they would submit to a strong man. What will happen after they become nourished and regain their strength is anybody's guess. History at least proves that strong men don't give up power. They back their love of power with all sorts of patriotic excuses. What they generally say is that they have to defend the nation against anarchy.

Many writers will tell you that France's spirit is not restored. Some people are angry with France for not being sorry. I don't fully understand what people want France to be sorry about. She should have been strong, but is that a question of morality?

At any rate, I think the significant thing in France today is the opposition of those who continue to have faith in France's famous logic and those who feel that France's logic was merely a useless form of mental titivation that was impotent before a cannon and what they now need is an authoritative man.

From Paris I went by jeep to Brussels. I don't know why they don't put covers on those jeeps. I think that was the coldest trip I ever had in my life. En route we stopped at a French chateau. It was a lovely place, owned by a very handsome French widow and I thought we were going to lose at least one of our party. She told us that in going through there the Germans sawed children in the neighbourhood in two at the sawmill, and when she saw the expressions on our faces she said, "You English people (whether English or Canadians, it makes no difference) are extraordinary. You don't seem to be able to get it into your heads that these Germans are barbarians."

I arrived in Brussels shortly after the riots there. They were not very serious. They were small things. Most of the Belgians were Conservative before the war and I think they would continue to be if there were more food in Belgium; but under existing circumstances there has been a perceptible shift to the Left and I should suppose—

my figures may be inaccurate—that fifty or sixty per cent of the Belgian people now are Socialist. The Communists, I would say, represent only about six to ten per cent, and they will get nowhere unless this hunger persists, in which case they may be able to capitalize on people's despair. They certainly do everything they can in Belgium through their newspapers to incite the people to upset the existing order.

Belgium, incidentally, as those of you who have been there will know, is very much like Canada. She is a reliable nation, a hard working nation, and she tends to take a utilitarian view of things generally. You can see from the architecture that things are built for use rather than for what they look like.

From Brussels I went to Holland, and for the first time on my trip I found myself unable to speak to the natives. I felt completely out of touch and after a short time I went on to the Canadian Front, as I had done in Italy. I went up to, I suppose, within a mile of the Front Line and I got a magnificent view. I must say I took off my hat—I think it was the Knights of Columbus that were within a matter of a thousand yards of the Front Line, where they had a canteen, selling cigarettes to the men, showing them films and supplying chocolate. The man who runs the canteen took me to the upstairs window. He said, "Don't look through it—you might get shattered—but if you stand on the side you will get a good view."

It is a curious thing on the Front Line—I don't know if service men have noticed it before, but as you approach, in spite of the cannons, men talk in whispers. I have noticed it in the north country. They seem to be awed by the grandeur or something or other and they talk in whispers. I remember going to the Brigade Headquarters, and I was welcomed almost in whispers. It was most impressive and rather uncanny.

About the Canadian soldiers abroad, I would just like to say that in my opinion the Canadian soldier is better looked after, all things considered, than the soldiers of any other nation. I was in uniform myself. I had been asked to go to Italy by Canadian Military Headquarters, although you will have gathered from my remarks I am an internationalist, and a very adamant one. Time and again I remember feeling thankful that in the accidental way of things my son was born in Canada, and I suppose that really is the acid test of where one's heart lies.

I spent a great deal of time in England. The significant thing about England, I think, at least the quintessence of the current movement in my opinion, is the love of Elizabethanism that seems to be infecting intellectuals there, Claude Rains, the actor, who was in England making "Caesar and Cleopatra" told me that he couldn't understand the way the youngsters act. He used to be a teacher in the Royal Academy of Art. He said, "They leap and jump about the stage". It is one more indication of the love of the Elizabethan in England. It was obviously a way of simulating the original actors in Shakesperian parts. Of course they won't go back, but the significant thing is that Britain seems to be accentuating the physical side of life.

Incidentally, I am sorry I can't tell you more about it, but the most important thing I saw in England was the Woolton Plan on Unemployment. It was really a most inspiring thing. It tells me England is going to be in the forefront of social change and she will do it without suffering the upheaval that would be necessary if a socialized state were adopted. If you get a chance, I recommend that you read it. I really believe that Britain is going to solve the problem of unemployment and will do it with the utmost harmony and that in my opinion will be a great achievement.

The principle, to put it very crudely, is similar to the Exchange and Equalization Fund England introduced when she went off the gold standard. They are now going to adopt what virtually amounts to an employment equalization fund. That is, when industry is using labour, the government will relax its hold on labour. When industry is relaxing its hold on labour, the government will buy it.

Now, to summarize: Italy, in my opinion, says, "Go back to the Church." France is saying, "Let's have less reasoning and more disciplined authority." Britain says, "Give us more old-time lusty children with as much brawn as brain."

And once again we recall Solomon's words, "There is nothing new under the sun."

Is this true? Is Britain trying to relearn the lessons of the past? Is France trying to unlearn the lessons of recent times? And is Italy trying to give up learning altogether?

Memories are very short and, if France goes back, it is certain she will come forward again and then go back, and so on. This recognition of the recurring movements in history causes a great deal of pessimism among thinkers in Europe. It deprives them of faith in real progress. The French have a saying, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." The more it changes the more it remains the same thing.

Is there no escape from this vicious circle of recurrent events? Does history always repeat itself in the way indicated in Spengler's *"Decline of the West"?*

It is not enough for us to say we believe in progress. We must know what causes progress and what causes decadence.

Is it true that great wealth brings decadence? No, I believe that is a gross untruth. What causes decadence is wealth among the few and poverty among the many. Neither great wealth, nor great intellect, nor great spiritual qualities, bring decadence in their train. It is an extremity in any one of these three that causes trouble.

In simple words, if a nation is strong only, but hasn't developed its mental or its spiritual side, it will fail; or, if it is very religious but it hasn't looked after its strength or its wisdom, it will fail.

I believe the answer lies in a balance of those three things—strength, wisdom and spiritual qualities.

To sum up, I believe to be wise we must first be strong, and to be spiritual we must first be wise.

And to people who ask me, "How can Canada become a great nation?" I would say: Let her be among the greatest in strength, wisdom and devoutness. We can maintain this balance on a constantly rising scale and therefore, for us, the symbol in life must be not a circle but a spiral. Let us not envy those who are rich but have diseased, neglected bodies or those, who being rich in health and wealth, have warped souls.

What is the most exciting thought with which I can leave you? I suppose, if we must have a faith in the future, it is the hope that pain will be eliminated from life. To this, the Italian would say, "What a fool you are to try and change the work of the Lord"; and the French would say, "Man must learn not to fear pain but to defy it"; and the English I think would say, "Why not compromise?"

"PALESTINE AND THE MIDDLE EAST"

AN ADDRESS BY

THE REVEREND WENDELL PHILLIPS

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, March 22, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: Next week, at Easter, much of the Christian world will look backward to events that took place in Palestine almost twenty centuries ago. Today, this Club will be privileged to hear a message about "Palestine and the Middle East" in our own times.

Our guest speaker today is Reverend Wendell Phillips, Rector of Christ Church at Rye, New York. Incidentally, Rye is a beautiful spot just a few miles north of the big city where recently there was held an important international gathering of business men to study conditions of future world trade and commerce.

Mr. Phillips comes from a family whose great names have illuminated the pages of American history, including such men as Wendell Phillips, the famous Abolitionist, and Phillips Brooks, one-time Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Bishop of Massachusetts and renowned for his pulpit oratory.

For three years, our guest was on the staff of The American University at Cairo, Egypt. This great Christian university, like other great universities has achieved greatness by the influence of its graduates on life in the Middle East. Since his return to America, Reverend Mr. Phillips has maintained his interests in the life of the Arab, Jew and Christian.

The policies of the British Empire, America and the United Nations are a matter of concern to all of us, and we are indebted to our visitor for coming to us to address us on such an important topic.

I have pleasure in presenting Reverend Wendell Phillips, who will address us on "Palestine and the Middle East".

REVEREND WENDELL PHILLIPS: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The Christian world has always been interested in Palestine. This was true almost two thousand years ago. It is acutely true today.

There are many reasons why we are concerned now. Perhaps the most pressing one is that Palestine seems to be the only possible haven for hundreds of thousands, or millions, of oppressed Jews who are somehow existing in Europe at this very moment. But to them the doors of Palestine have just been shut, and bid fair to remain shut unless certain pertinent facts in the case become more widely known. Of course we all realize that this immediate problem of Jewish refugees is but the last chapter in the long story of Zionism, the movement which during the last four or five decades has aimed to restore Palestine as a Jewish national homeland.

Now whenever the subject of the Jews and Palestine comes up someone is sure to say: "But the Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine. There is an Arab-Jewish conflict. It is not right to force the Arabs to leave their own country just to make room for Jews. I believe the contrary to be true. The Jews have rights to Palestine. They should not have to come as suppliants, but as just and rightful heirs to an inheritance: an inheritance which not only extends back through the ages, but an inheritance which was solemnly confirmed by the whole civilized world hardly more than two decades ago.

ARAB ARGUMENTS AGAINST ZIONISM.

What are the arguments of the Arabs against Zionism? About two years ago Arab leaders stated the position of the Arab world as they saw it. Their opinions were widely published. They can be summarized by the following three statements: "First, Zionism is unfair to the Arabs who now own and occupy the land; second, Zionism, if encouraged by Great Britain and the United States, will be the means of disturbing the friendship which exists between the Arab nations and the Allies; third, there simply is not enough room in little Palestine for the Arabs who are there and the Jews who want to go there." Let us examine these three statements.

Unfair to the Arabs?

First, Arab leaders say that Zionism is unfair to the Arabs who own the land. Now as a matter of fact and of history, who *does* own the land? I am not speaking of the private owner of a private plot of land who is able to buy or sell land at will to anyone. I speak of ownership in the larger sense: to whom does the whole land of Palestine belong?

Let us go back in history, not to ancient history when the Jews were identified with the land, but back to 1517. The land which we now call Palestine then became part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. It remained in Turkish hands for four hundred years. Then, during the First World War, Turkey and Great Britain became potential enemies. Before long Britain and Sherif Hussein of Mecca found that it would be mutually beneficial for them to join forces. Britain would gain an ally in Sherif Hussein and as many other Arab leaders as could be persuaded to revolt against their Turkish overlords and in return the Arabs would gain certain important benefits. As an inducement to revolt, Britain offered the Arab peoples freedom from the Turkish Empire.

They were to have their independence: all the Arabs from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean. With only one exception! For a small portion of that vast territory Britain had other plans. That portion was called Syria and included what we of the western world commonly call Palestine. Syria proper was to go to France after the war, and Palestine was to become a Jewish Homeland. This arrangement was perfectly agreeable to the Arabs who were getting a generous reward for what was to prove a very feeble effort of revolt against Turkey. The only misunderstanding was with France who assumed that she was to get all of Syria including Palestine. However, when France clearly understood the terms of the whole arrangement she gave up any of her supposed rights to Palestine on condition that it was to be placed under an international control which was to establish there a Jewish national home. The British and the French were satisfied. The Arabs were satisfied. The Jews were satisfied.

In 1917 the Balfour Declaration presented the situation to the whole world: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." There were no objections raised. Everyone had gotten something out of the dismembered Turkish Empire.

Arabs and Jews worked in co-operation. Emir Feisal of Hedjaz, leading Arab figure at the time, worked with Chaim Weizmann of Palestine in closest harmony. They prefaced a mutual document with the words: "mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them. etc."

In 1919 Emir Feisal wrote to Felix Frankfurter: "We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. We will do our best to help them." In 1918 he said: "Arabs and Jews understand one another. Arabs are not jealous of Zionist Jews, and intend to give them fair play, and the Zionist Jews have assured the Nationalist Arabs of their intention to see that they too have fair play in their respective areas." In 1922 the rest of the civilized world, in the form of the League of Nations, added its blessing to all that had been done, and gave Great Britain the Mandate for Palestine. Great Britain was to assist the Jews in the establishment of their national homeland. During the same year the Congress of the United States added its approval. Everyone was satisfied. Could there have been a happier situation?

No, not exactly everyone was satisfied. There were certain individuals and forces in England, in Palestine, in the Arab States which had never approved of the whole plan. They did not want a Jewish homeland. They had been fairly defeated, but now they worked secretly, quietly. Here and there, by this means and by that, they obstructed. They began to sabotage the whole plan. Whispers began. Perhaps Great Britain wasn't so anxious after all to establish this homeland. Perhaps the Arabs could have the whole territory including tiny Palestine. Perhaps the Arabs could have both the penny and the cake. Well, there was no harm in trying. And so it was Arab voices began to rise: "We want Palestine. We live here. It belongs to us. What right have these Jews to come in here and take it away from us?" The clamour grew.

Sincere Britishers, alarmed by this insiduous propaganda, tried to remind the world of the facts. They reminded the world that the Arabs were perfectly agreeable to having the Zionists take Palestine so long as they could maintain their own Arab independence in other lands. As Sir Henry McMahon, negotiator of the deal with the Arabs said much later in 1937, "It was not intended by me to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein." But it was too late. Reactionary forces in both lands were at work, and thus arose what we now call the Arab-Jewish problem, a synthetic problem manufactured by those who do not want to see Arabs and Jews living in peace together.

"Zionism is not fair to the Arabs who own Palestine." How ridiculous that sounds in the light of a few simple, authenticated facts! Who owns Palestine? In the light of history, in the light of documentary evidence, in the light of the action of the civilized world, the Jews are the only rightful owners of Palestine. And in the light of all this, how tragic it was that in 1939 Great Britain adopted the White Paper restricting and then stopping all Jewish immigration into Palestine! We have gone back on our pledged word. It was Winston Churchill himself in the House of Commons in 1939 who referred to a clause in this White Paper and said: "Now there is the breach. There is the violation of the pledge; there is the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration." We have repudiated our former generous acts. We have failed the Jewish people. In excuse, we turn to the world and say, "Well, after all, it's not fair to the Arabs to let the Jews take over Palestine."

As a matter of testimony, the Arabs who actually live in Palestine are very happy to have the Jews there. Palestinian Arabs are enjoying the fruits of a civilization which the Jews have brought to them. They have told their friends about it with the result that Arab immigration into Palestine has increased 100% in the last 20 years. Why not? The Jews have blessed the land. The Arab's standard of living is higher than it was. His wages are better. His children get a better education. When he is sick he can be admitted to one of the world's finest hospitals. The British Colonial Secretary said in the House of Commons in 1938, "The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine . . . I believe the Arab population would still have been around 600,000 instead of over one million. It is because the Jews, who have come to Palestine, bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

Someone may ask: "If the Palestinian Arabs want the Jews there, why are they always having riots in Palestine?" Leaving aside the question of the sources of those riots, this may be said: Paid Arab terrorists are the ones who carry on the riots. They try to enlist the aid of peaceful Arabs, urging the Arabs to rise up against their Jewish neighbors. Sometimes this process of intimidation works. More often it does not. Sometimes these peaceful Arabs are punished for refusing to quarrel with their Jewish friends. It has been said and I believe justly, that in the Palestinian riots more Arabs than Jews have been killed by Arabs. Zionism not fair to the Arabs? Ask the Arab masses in Palestine. They need Zionism.

Disturb Arab Friendship With the Allies?

The second argument against Zionism is that it will disturb Arab friendship with the Allied nations if it is encouraged by Great Britain and the United States. Arab friendship of the Allies? What friendship? The kind of friendship that declares war on Germany when the fighting is all but over!

Three years ago the Arab nations had a magnificent opportunity to show any friendship they might have had for the Allied cause. The Allies needed help. Indeed it looked as if they were almost beyond the need of help. How quickly we forget! Remember the situation; Rommel's victorious German army had pushed the British back across North Africa. Now Rommel was poised for the final blow which would deliver Egypt and the Arab world into his power. At that moment Britain needed friends! Did the Arab world come forth in friendship? On the contrary. They saw that Britain was losing the fight. Anyone could see that. The British European armies had been smashed at Dunkirk. The French armies lay prostrate and impotent. Britain's ally, the United States, was producing little, and was losing the Pacific War at Corregidor and Bataan. The Dutch Navy was at the bottom of the sea. Australia was calling for her soldiers to come home. Russia was reeling back, staggered from the series of mighty blows delivered by the might of the German armies.

At that time Britain was looking for a friend in the Arab world. Someone, anyone, who could help, who could supply some planes, some men, some supplies, even a word of cheer. From the Arab world came only silence and treachery. Arab rebellions were put down. Peace had to be maintained behind the British lines. It has been said that there were as many British soldiers policing the Arab world to keep order as there were British soldiers facing Rommel on the field of battle. Was that Arab friendship for the allies?

Meanwhile who were Britain's friends? They were the Jews of Palestine who fought and died for the Allied cause. Thirty thousand fighting men. Two thousand five hundred in the air with the R.A.F., six thousand on the ground. It has been estimated that one-quarter of the army which turned back Rommel was made up of Palestinian Jews. But about these facts there has been a conspiracy of silence.

We do not hear about the suicide squads composed of Palestinian Jews who put themselves at the disposal of the British Army and Navy. We do not hear of the 12 Jewish boys who volunteered to slip quietly into Vichy Syria in an attempt to destroy some oil installations in the port of Tripoli. They understood that if they were discovered Britain would have to repudiate and disown them. Their families could not receive pensions. But they went, began their destruction and met death. Later their bodies were found in a shallow grave, identified by the Hebrew lettering on their clothing.

Or take the case of the bridges over the Tigris and Euphrates. At one point even Winston Churchill thought that things were going to get worse than they actually did. He saw the possibility of a German break-through at Stalingrad as well as at Alexandria. The Allied armies would be trapped. There must be some escape provided.

So he personally sent a telegram to the military authorities in the Near East instructing them to drop everything else and build escape bridges over the Tigris and Euphrates. The authorities in Jerusalem were paralyzed. How could they possibly build the bridges? There was no steel available. There were no engineers available. There were no workers available. It couldn't be done. Just when they were on the point of notifying London that some other plan would have to be worked out a Palestinian Jew walked into the Jerusalem office. He discovered the problem and said, "Let me build those bridges." In short, this former Czechoslovakian Jew who had built bridges and subways in Europe actually completed the series of bridges over the Tigris and Euphrates, finding his own material, engineers and workers. The bridges, fortunately, were not used for retreating armies. Jewish friendship helped to save those armies.

These stories could be multiplied. Just one more. Take the case of the 500 Jewish engineers given the task of laying a mine-field on the southern tip of Montgomery's battle line as he faced Rommel in North Africa. They had hardly begun their task when they were spotted by German planes. Within three days they were surrounded by 110 German tanks. Refusing surrender, they waited for the tanks to close in before they let go with their anti-tank guns. The Germans faltered, stopped, turned around. Then up out of fox-holes sprang Jews who climbed on the tanks and threw grenades into openings, increasing the devastation begun by the anti-tank guns and mines. Twenty-six tanks were knocked out in that final attack.

Then for one long week the Germans subjected the spot to air attack. Dive-bombers dropped their loads over the spot so that no resistance would be left. Then the tanks came back. This time 41 were left wrecked on the battlefield. Then came more dive bombers, more tanks, more bombers, day after day. The 500 engineers were reduced to 400, then 300, then 200, then to 90. When the water supply received a direct hit the real misery began. Men drank gasoline and ran off screaming mad into the desert. At the end of a month 43 were left alive, and these 43 kept the enemy from turning the flank of the British army.

That is friendship. Arab friendship? No, Jewish friendship. Not an unselfish friendship, perhaps. They may not have died because they love Great Britain, but they died in order that other Jews might live, might live in honor and freedom in the land of Palestine as a fitting reward for their contribution to the cause of the Allies, the cause of decency, the cause of humanity. If you are moved and inspired by their story they did not die wholly in vain.

Arab leaders warn us not to do anything which will disturb Arab friendship. Let us be concerned about the welfare of our true friends, the Jews of Palestine, and let us not worry too much about those who are not our friends.

Not Enough Room in Palestine?

The third argument against Zionism is that there is not enough room in little Palestine for the Arabs who are already there and the Jews who want to go there. They suggest that there are far roomier and more fertile places in Europe and America. Why can't they go to Arizona or Texas?

In answer it might be said that the Jews of Europe don't want to go to Arizona or Texas, but if they did, and if the League of Nations plus the United States had promised them that they could go to Texas, I believe that promise would have been kept. But the Jews want to go to Palestine, and they are satisfied that there is plenty of room there for everyone who has any intention of going.

The cause of Zionism has been decidedly furthered almost by chance. It just happened that the government of the United States sent its assistant chief of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service to various spots on the globe to study soil conditions. While he was on this mission Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk became fascinated with Palestine. He read in the soil the record of the great civilizations which Palestine and the surrounding desert territories once supported. They were not desert then. They were garden-spots made possible by irrigation, yielding not only food by which men's bodies lived, but cultures by which men lived indeed. There were cities where today there are only sands, Greek columns where today there are desert weeds, theatres where today can be found only a chorus of wild animals.

Here is a land that has fallen to decay because men have moved away leaving the country to nomads. This part of the world desperately needs new man-power, a larger population. The Arabs already have far too much land. They have a few million people moving on a stage that once held great civilizations, and could again. Think of the life-giving powers in the Tigris and Euphrates valley alone! A few years ago, when an irrigation dam was constructed there, a visitor asked a high official: "I suppose this is just the first of a series of such projects?" He replied, "No, this is the last one. We don't have enough man-power to handle any more." In 1926, the Prime Minister of Iraq said: "What Iraq wants above everything else is more population."

The same is true, only on a smaller scale, of Palestine. It may be admitted that Palestine is not naturally as fertile as other parts of the world, but it is fertile enough. The ancient canals can once more be put into use, new ones built, water brought once more to the parched land. The land is still there. The water is still there. The climate is the same as it was when Jerusalem was blessed with milk and honey. It has been compared favorably with the present climate of Southern California where an artificial water supply has given birth to such a miracle as Los Angeles. Only a few decades ago prophets of doom visualized the dry death which would surely close in upon those intrepid souls who first settled Los Angeles. Those who have since been to Southern California say it's a very nice place.

Palestine has the added advantage of having once proved that it is a productive spot. But soil erosion, lack of care, and grazing animals have brought it to poverty. Once the land could boast of the Cedars of Lebanon. Where are they now? They are all gone, except for here and there a few like those which are enclosed in a wall which surrounded a shrine. The wall kept out the grazing animals who fed upon the small shoots springing up from the ground. Only within the wall did the shoots grow to be new cedars of Lebanon. Outside, the herds destroyed trees, plants, and soil alike. And no one cared.

But now comes a new kind of person. A man who cares. A man who loves the land of his forefathers. He plants new cedars. He irrigates the land. He works with his own hands. He asks the Arab to work, too, if he wishes to work. This new man has already created new centres of life; over 300 communities are now witness to his labors. This new man has already created new cities: Tel Aviv the crown of his efforts. He has increased the fruits of the earth. He has created a new economy. He has built factories which during war-time have contributed immeasurably to the Allied cause. He has created hospitals, schools, universities.

He does not want to stop. The desert is there waiting to be massaged back to life. Today the waters from the Sea of Galilee run largely wasted down the Jordan only to be lost forever in the salt pit of the Dead Sea. This new man would channel off those waters into fields and vineyards and orchards. Then, by a simple feat of engineering, he would dig a channel to bring the salt waters of the Mediterranean to the top of the Jordan Valley, letting them fall down the valley into the Dead Sea. This virtual waterfall would total a drop of 1,300 feet, supplying enough water power to bring light and manufacturing power to the land of Palestine. This new man would create a new civilization in Palestine, and in that part of the Arab world.

The land cries out to be saved. It cries out for another three or four million people who could save it. But Arab leaders say there is no more room in Palestine,

REAL REASONS FOR HOSTILITY.

We have now considered the three arguments which certain Arab leaders have used against Zionism. We have seen that these arguments are not as valid as some have supposed. But now let us go a step further, and consider what I believe to be some of the *real* reasons why Arab leaders are opposed to Zionism.

I believe that if they were willing to take us into their confidence we might say something like this: "Gentlemen, we have listened gratefully to your views of Zionism. We have respectfully weighed all you have said. But somehow we suspect that these are not the real reasons, the fundamental reasons why you are against Zionism. Come, now, tell us the real ones." Then they might smile, and say something like this: "You are quite right. There are three other elements which form our real opposition to Zionism. The first is a certain psychological attitude which we might call Arab exclusiveness; the second is the economic situation which Zionism might introduce into our world; the third is made up of the political aspects of the whole problem."

ARAB EXCLUSIVENESS.

Now the first of these three is the least important: Arab exclusiveness. Have you ever been to Mecca? Have you ever taken a Cook's tour into the heart of Arabia? I dare say you never have, and neither has any other non-Moslem, except in disguise. In other words, you and I can travel to any part of this globe we may choose. We may go to the Poles if we can find means of transportation. But there is one place we may not go, and that is into the Arabian Peninsula.

An article on Arabia in *Life Magazine* began with these words: "For all practical purposes Saudi Arabia is a closed country to the Christian world. Fewer than 100 Europeans or Americans have visited its desert fortresses in modern times. No non-Moslem journalist has ever been officially permitted to visit its capital at Riad." And I dare say none has ever been to Mecca or Medina.

In other words, here is a primitive people dictating to a civilized world the terms upon which it can travel. It is one illustration of an attitude of mind which looks with disfavor upon the intrusion of any outsider into the so-called Arab world. Moreover, it is an attitude which is encouraged in the people by their leaders.

The average Arab is a miserable creature judged by our standards, and perhaps by any standards. He is poor, illy housed, often desperately sick. He turns to his leaders and asks why. His leaders, unwilling to bestir themselves to better his lot may simply say that such is the will of Allah. Or he may and does go a step further. He says that all the ills of the Arab come as a result of foreign intereference in Arab affairs. It has been said, with some accuracy, that this sort of attitude has developed into the only national policy the Arabs have, a policy of anti-foreignism, directed at the outside world and Zionism alike.

Economic Selfishness of Arab Leaders.

A second and more important reason why Arab leaders are against Zionism is an economic one. We must remember that Arabia proper is a feudalistic state, or perhaps more accurately a mediaeval absolute monarchy. The few who are in power have everything; the rest have nothing. The leaders, the Emirs, the feudalistic owners, the professional classes and clergy who benefit by serving the leaders, and even the "Effendis," are the recipients of whatever fruit the land bears. Between them and the masses there is a great gulf fixed, and no one is interested in bridging it.

Leaders in the Arabian world live on a generous scale. A wealthy man in such a world is really wealthy, and a poor man is really poor. A poor man has almost literally nothing. Nor is there any concern about the poor. That is the concern of Allah. If God wills that a man starve to death, why should mortal man frustrate God's will by feeding him? Thus there is no concern about the welfare of the masses. There is no nonsense about the rights of man, or much less of labor unions. There is no nonsense about democracy. That is the situation, and it suits those on the top very nicely. They don't want anything to upset it.

You may notice that I differentiate between Arabs and Arab leaders. Whenever anyone says to me, "But the Arabs don't want the Jews in Paestine," I automatically ask, "What Arabs?" There is no such thing as "The Arabs." I suppose the nearest thing to an Arab is the person who lives in Arabia. He is the poverty-stricken fellow we have just been considering. He is not against Zionism. He has never heard about Zionism. He might possibly know where Palestine is, but he has never thought much about it. The same is true for the millions of Arabs in most of the Arab world.

Then there is the second group whom we might refer to as "The Arabs." These are the masses of Moslems in Palestine itself. They are not against Zionism. We have seen how these have been blessed by the Jews, and how they want these blessings to continue to flow. But, we hear, "The Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine." "What Arabs?" The Arab leaders all over the Arab world! They are the privileged group. They have the power and the wealth. They have held all economic power for centuries, and they intend to continue to hold it.

But there has loomed up a danger to their status. And that danger is Zionism! For Zionism is improving the lot of the average man in Palestine, even the lot of the average Arab. Zionism is concerned about a man's inherent rights, about his body, about his soul, his education, his health, his home, his family, his present and his future. Zionism is interested in the land and the people who live in the land. Zionism is interested in Democracy. It is even interested in the rights of labor.

Now this would not be so bad if these unorthodox ideas were to be confined within the limits of Palestine, but such a gospel ignores geographic borders. Such news spreads, and unless this heresy is stopped at birth it might spread over the whole Arab world, with the result that feudalism would begin to disintegrate, and the privileged classes would topple. We must be very sympathetic with the privileged classes. They are not scheming. They are not doing anything mean in their own eyes. They are obeying the rules of the game as it is played in that part of the world.

I remember the time when, some years ago, I entertained several of my Moslem friends who came on a visit to the United States. They stayed with me for some weeks. We toured New England, visited Washington and New York. They saw the skyscrapers and the material wonders of our civilization. At the end of the tour I said, "Tell me, what has interested you most about our country?" One of them answered: "We have both been interested in the same thing. Wherever we go we find great buildings, perhaps hospitals, schools, or some other public building. And on the corner of the structure there is apt to be a tablet with the inscription 'This building was given by Mr. So and So.' What we want to know is, why did he give it? What did he get out of it? Surely he must have had some motive beyond generosity. In our land you couldn't find a single man who would do such a thing unless he was rewarded by the King with a title or with some other tangible return." They simply do not understand our concern for others. And we must remember that it has taken us centuries of our Judaic-Christian culture to learn the lesson ourselves. We cannot expect others to learn it in a few years.

The truth remains, however, that Arab leaders are indeed against Zionism. The question is, how much concern should we show for a few Arab leaders as opposed to the manifest welfare of the great masses of Arabs and all the Jews? I believe we should not be too much concerned about the economic selfishness of the privileged few.

POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM.

We come now to the third reason why Arab leaders are opposed to Zionism: the political reason. Almost every really important Arab leader hopes to become the head of

Pan-Arabia. He wants to have the backing of every Arab as he continues to grow in power. To do this he must have a program, a rallying cry, and the program is "Down with Zionism." Hitler faced the same problem in Germany. He had to stir his people and move them with some magic formula. So he shouted "Down with the Jews." It is a simple and effective formula, which demagogues have used in the past and may well use in the future.

But even this opposition is minute when compared with the ultimate political opposition to Zionism. The fact is simply this: Certain important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism! All the facts we have discussed so far are insignificant compared to this one. The wishes of Arab leaders, the rights of the Jews, the productivity of the land, all these count as nothing beside the simple statement that certain important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism. Nor should we too easily condemn these obstructionists. They are convinced that they are working for the best interests of the Empire, even though Palestine is not part of the Empire.

And why is Zionism a challenge to the Empire? For the same reason that it is a challenge to the privileged Arab leaders. Things have been going very nicely so far. Things are relatively quiet on that part of the Empire's life-line. The Suez continues to function. Arab labor is cheap, whether it is building roads or airfields. Arab leaders are willing to give up their oil if paid liberally. The Eastern end of the Mediterranean is a moderately friendly place. Why should this nice balance be disturbed? Who can tell what might result if a highly developed state is allowed to come to life in that part of the world? Who can tell what might result in the economic field for example. Suppose the Zionists set up a state that produces and manufactures. Suppose they show the way to the rest of the Arab world. Suppose the virus spreads around the life-line to Egypt, Iran, Irak, India and China. What function then will the vast factories of England fulfill? Is it not a dangerous thing to encourage rivals who might live on the life-blood of the Empire?

Moreover this new Zionist State in Palestine may choose its own friends. Suppose 10 or 50 years from now the Zionists join hands and interests with someone unfriendly to England. Would not Britain be foolish to risk such a danger when Palestine is so strategically located?

So it is that certain powers in the British Colonial Office look at Zionism and say: "You have performed miracles there in Palestine. You have transformed the desert into a garden. You have built forests and cities. You have lifted a country from desolation. You have improved the lot of the inhabitants. You have performed a miracle . . . *But we don't like it!* We believe it is not to our best interests." Fortunately, there are other powers in England and in the Empire who just as strongly believe that it is to England's benefit to take the generous course in Palestine.

Here let me state the appreciation of the friends of the Jewish National Home in Palestine for the contribution which has been made by the British Government and the British people. Jewish people themselves never forget that Britain has been their traditional friend in Europe. Had not British interests and sympathy given strong support to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, there would not even be today the substantial framework of a Jewish National Home to discuss. Where could the Jews have turned after World War I for the National Home as a concrete achievement? Immersed in her policy of rock-ribbed isolationism, the United States would accept no direct responsibility of primary initiative, although the Anglo-American Treaty of 1925 with His Majesty's Government re the Mandate for Palestine may be regarded as a glorious exception in the American isolationist policy.

It must be appreciated that Britain has set up conditions in Palestine of enormous benefit both to Jews and Arabs; in the interval between wars the Jewish population increased half a million and the Arab population slightly more than half a million. In the same period in

Tripolitania Mussolini annihilated the Moslem population to the tune of 500,000 from an original population of 1,000,000. What credit is due to the British Government and people for an achievement which has been of enormous benefit both to Jews and Arabs should be rendered in this age of radical criticism of all governments, should be recognized and never forgotten.

Let me conclude with this thought. You and I and the members of the civilized world have a moral obligation. It is our duty to allow the Jews to settle Palestine without any restrictions on immigration. We have promised it to them. We have given it to them. And then we have snatched it away.

As the result of a legal agreement the Arabs received a territory as large as one-third of the United States. The Jews were to receive about one per cent of that amount of land: the little country of Palestine. The Arabs got their land. The Jews got a promise: The Promised Land. We allowed them to go ahead with their plans. We allowed them to pour their lives, their efforts, their money, their dreams, their future into Palestine. We allowd them to begin to build . . . and then we closed the doors, dooming their hopes and dreams. We have a moral obligation to Zionism.

In an effort to excuse our unfaithfulness and immoral action we have sometimes said with Lord Halifax that at times moral considerations must give way to imperial policy. That is a dangerous statement. It is the sort of slogan that once brought us to Munich. It is the sort of slogan which Hitler used. It is a false doctrine which can only lead its followers to ultimate destruction. Rather, let us listen to the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the House of Lords: "In the matter of Palestine, Britain stands before the bar of God, of history, and of humanity!"

"THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN DENMARK"

AN ADDRESS BY

ROBERT STAERMOSE

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, March 29, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: Denmark is such a small country that it was in no position to offer effective resistance against the German invader. But the heart of Denmark is sound, and in the spirit of Denmark there is that love of liberty that makes even a small nation a great nation Today, we are to hear how Denmark maintained its opposition to German occupation.

Our first glimpse of this opposition was given us a little over a year ago when His Excellency Henrik Kauffman, Danish Ambassador to the United States, spoke to this Club.

Our guest speaker today is Mr. Robert Staermose, who made his escape from Denmark to England in a fishing boat in October last.

Mr. Staermose started his business life in a bank in Copenhagen. From 1932-37, he was a teacher in a cooperative school. From there, he transferred to the principalship of one of the famous Folk High Schools. These Folk High Schools are community schools which have made a great contribution to the life of Denmark. We have no counterpart of them here, either in idea or organization. In 1943, the Germans requisitioned his school building and his school had to close.

There was a general election in Denmark in 1943 and Mr. Staermose was elected a member of the Danish House of Commons. It is reported that, to present a united democratic front, 90% of the electorate went to the polls. Since we are slated for an election or two in the near future here, we might profitably look to the example set in Denmark.

Our guest has taken an active part in the resistance movement, which received support from the Allies.

In 1928-29, he studied in England, but claims that he still speaks English with his head rather than his heart. However, he did so well during the past winter in England that he was invited to come to the United States and Canada for a series of lectures.

We welcome him to Toronto and I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. Robert Staermose, member of the Danish Parliament and teacher, who will speak to us on "The Resistance Movement in Denmark."

Mr. Robert Staermose: Mr. President, Gentlemen: I thank you for the cordial welcome you have given me and I want to tell you that I am more happy than I can say that you have given me this opportunity of telling you about Fighting Denmark, and to bring to your people a message from our young Danish underground soldiers, who are fighting for the freedom of our country and for the freedom of the world. They fight for the same cause which your gallant forces serve with such admirably sweeping success these days.

His Excellency Henrik Kauffman, our Danish Minister in Washington, enjoyed, as your President told you, the privilege of addressing this audience last year, and I know that he gave you an outline of the history of the German occupation of Denmark from the 9th of April, 1940, when the Nazi military machine rolled in and the most barbarous tyranny ever known in history subjugated our one million homes with our four million peace-loving people.

His Excellency, whose firm stand for free Denmark on the side of the Allies right from the 9th of April, 1940, has been a very great encouragement to us at home, gave you many informative facts, which are on record in your

Year Book, and therefore I can concentrate straight away, without any general information, on the story of the Danish resistance against the Nazis in Denmark.

Sabotage on factories working for the German war machine, on military corps, on German airfields, on railways and on other targets started on a large scale in the summer of 1943.

I am very often asked why this resistance didn't show itself before then. People ask me, "Why did you wait three years before you started to make it hot for the Nazis in Denmark?"

Well, I want to explain that and it is very simple. Before 1943 we did not succeed in establishing connections with SHAEF, the Allied Military Headquarters, and therefore we could not get supplies, we could not get explosives, arms or munitions. As a matter of fact, we did as much as we could before 1943, but you will agree with me, Gentlemen, that you cannot develop sabotage on any important military scale with the quantity of explosives that you can steal from quarries or gravel pits. Instructors and trained men were required and many young Danes, who escaped from Denmark and trained abroad for their dangerous job, came back by air.

The story of the French resistance has been published and the Danish resistance has also been given publicity, so I betray no security regulations when I say that the underground activities in Denmark are part of the Allied military operations in Europe. Denmark did not come on the military map until 1943, but may I assure you that our fingers itched terribly during those years of relative inactivity.

After the connection with SHAEF had been established, sabotage organizations were built up and activity started. Factories producing parts for V-1 and V-2's were destroyed by audacious exploits of the small Danish sabotage groups. One of the airfields in Denmark, that of Northern Jutland, was another target for a very audacious attack. Our young people succeeded in getting into the airfield and blew up the hangars with forty-two German fighters.

During 1944 we have concentrated on railway sabotage. It started on a large scale right after D-Day when the Germans were drawing reinforcements back from Norway, Finland and Denmark, in an attempt to stem off the wave of the Allied Armies in France. In 1944 we had 328 cases of railway sabotage in Jutland, on the mainland from north to south, and it has been intensified during the two first months of 1945 so that in January and February alone we had 247 cases of railway sabotage.

I am often asked whether Denmark has been heavily hit by Allied air raids, but I say, "No, we haven't." We have only had two or three raids by the Royal Air Force and the reason is that we do the work on the ground. It is very efficient ground work, and there is the advantage attached to it that we can avoid any loss of civilian life. The few Royal Air Force attacks on Denmark have been most welcome and I may mention the two most important. A few months ago there was the pin-point attack on the Gestapo Headquarters in Jutland, where they had taken over some of the colleges of the University of the town of Aarhus. The Royal Air Force bombers came down right on the target, blew the houses up and did it in such a way that the Gestapo Headquarters was totally wiped out. A few days ago they did the same to the Copenhagen Headquarters of the Gestapo and, therefore, they have been of indescribable value to our underground movement.

The Royal Air Force is the most popular branch of your Services in Denmark. Among our boys it is considered a great treasure if you get hold of an R.A.F. badge, and the German police had quite some work to do to prevent our young girls from wearing caps with the blue and red and yellow rings on top.

On August 29, 1943, the Germans struck back. Sabotage and strikes and unrest had increased so much that they took counter measures and they were very thorough, as Germans are. They put our Government out of office.

Our King was virtually made a prisoner of war. Our Parliament ceased to function. The last remnants of the Danish Army and Navy were wiped out. The Navy scuttled itself or some of the ships escaped to Sweden and later on the Danish police force was disbanded. Denmark is now a country without a government, without a parliament, without armed forces, and without any Danish police protection for civilians, and with our old beloved King virtually a prisoner.

When that blow was dealt to us we took our own measures. We formed the Danish Council which organized and co-ordinated underground resistance work. A few weeks after the 29th of August one of the worst things that had happened in Denmark came over us. I refer to the persecution of the Jews. I was at that time a prisoner in a German concentration camp. I had been arrested together with several other politicians and representatives of the press, teachers, clergymen, actors, poets, authors, publishers—people who had control of the Danish public opinion. We were all of us arrested as hostages.

Well, in the early morning of the 2nd of October two big German lorries drove into camp and we woke up hearing the names of some twenty of our comrades called out down the dormitory. These twenty men were more or less of Jewish origin. They were forced to line up out in the courtyard in their pyjamas, and two German officers went down the line and asked each man his name and his wife's maiden name, and if this information sounded Jewish the man was told to go and dress and be ready to drive off in five minutes. There were no documents, no interrogation, they simply did it in this casual way.

One of our friends took it very quietly. He was a Copenhagen wholesale merchant. He said, when he was told to go in and dress, "Oh, well, I want to shave first." He went in and he shaved, and he took his time about it, and while he was shaving the lorry drove off with the seven unfortunate comrades who had been selected for transport to Germany, and he wasn't taken with them.

I mention that as another example of the way in which Germans show their contempt of human life.

It was on this occasion that our King gave his famous message to the Primate of the Danish Church, the Bishop of Copenhagen. I suppose you know it, but I would like to repeat it here. "If the Germans force my citizens of Jewish origin to wear the Jewish Star, I and all my family will wear the Jewish Star as a sign of the highest distinction."

In connection with the persecution of the Jews, we organized refugee service from Denmark to Sweden and by that route we have had to send 17,000 people across to security. And may I say here, that when the full story can be told, it will reveal that Sweden has been of immense value to the fight in Norway and Denmark.

By the same refugee shipping service we have transported to Sweden several of your Royal Air Force men, who had made a forced landing in our country, and we are happy to have been able to bring out and send them home.

Our Danish clergy, our church people, have made their special contribution which I would like to mention. I happen to know a Danish pastor in a small village who had a queer experience. He was wakened very early one morning about five o'clock by the bell ringer who had been over to the church to ring the sun up, as we do in our small villages at dawn. He said to the parson, "Oh, Pastor, there is a strange soldier in the church. He has a blue uniform and he doesn't speak German. I don't know who he is."

"Oh, my!" said the parson, and he jumped out of bed. He didn't give himself any time to dress but ran in his clogs and pyjamas across to the church-yard and met a Royal Air Force pilot. He talked to him in English and told him how welcome he was. The officer asked the Pastor, "Well, do you belong to the underground movement?" The Pastor winked his eye and said, "Yes", and the Pastor arranged for him to be sent out of Denmark. They had agreed on a certain greeting on the wireless when the Pilot arrived and five or six days later the Pastor got his greeting through the BBC.

While I am speaking of the Church people, there is a little story which I think you will appreciate. We have in Denmark an Association of Christian Commercial Travellers, and there is a similar organization in Sweden. The Swedish organization had its 25th anniversary last year, and for the celebration they wanted some guests from their Danish sister organization. They invited them, but the Germans refused exit permits, so the Danish representatives couldn't go. Instead they wrote a letter, and at the foot of this letter they put, "1st Thessalonians 2:17."

Well, the Swedes naturally looked up the Bible—1st Thessalonians 2:17: "But we, brethren, being taken away from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire; wherefore we would have come unto you once and again, but Satan hindered us."

When I tell you stories like this, and I could tell you many more, we shouldn't lose sight of the fact that the sabotage, the active resistance, the attack on military targets is the most important form of Danish resistance to the Germans and the military sabotage has been acknowledged in many communiques from Allied Headquarters. At New Year this year, our young fighting men at home, the small underground groups, had the great joy of receiving a direct message from the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, a message which gave great encouragement to everybody at home.

We shouldn't lose sight of the importance of the sabotage, but there are several other ways in which Danish resistance is performed and I am now going to give you just a short outline of the various fields of activity.

The Danish broadcasting service and the official newspapers are suppressed; only the truth as the Germans see it is allowed to be published. Yet it is strange to say that the only part of the Danish broadcasting service, which is absolutely free, is Divine service from our churches on Sundays. The Germans have tried to suppress the prayers and the sermons of our clergymen in this radio service but the clergy have refused to yield to pressure and so far they have succeeded

Well, in a country where public opinion is under duress through German censorship, it is most valuable that there is a free news service and the Danish underground press has in this respect done marvellous work. We publish a daily news bulletin every week day of quite a considerable size with inland news. It is a mimeographed typewritten paper of about eight to twelve foolscap pages and it is distributed to all leaders of the underground movement every morning.

We have another daily paper which has been issued now for six months and which has a circulation of 80,000 copies. When I tell you the two largest newspapers in Denmark have a circulation of about 90,000 and 130,000, respectively, you will see that this underground daily paper has made quite a remarkable success.

There is a special form of news service which I am sure will be interesting and amusing to you. In the summer of 1944 we organized underground picture performances in Copenhagen. Denmark has been barred from all American and British films since the 1st of January, 1941, and what we get is more or less German propaganda. So we imported some of your best films in to Copenhagen. Then we sent out invitations to reliable people to come and attend an air-raid precaution lecture at this or that cinema at some hour in the morning. Well, if the Gestapo had come into the cinema they would have seen a speaker on the platform addressing the audience on some air-raid precaution problem, and on the screen would have been rather a harmless air-raid precaution film. But if all was clear and no danger imminent our people would see "Mrs. Miniver", "In Which We Serve", "Desert Victory", "The Battle of Britain", "The Battle of Russia", "The Moon is Down", "Age of Darkness", "The Lambeth Walk", and cartoons from your countries.

These underground performances weren't organized simply to amuse people. When the picture was over a speaker would go on to the platform and say to the people: "When you leave this room you will find we have placed a couple of hats on some chairs at the entrance and we want you to place a contribution for our fighting men in those hats, but I will remind you that we must make as little noise as possible, and therefore I request you to use the noiseless money."

Another means of resisting the Germans is the organization of strikes and they are not strikes in the ordinary sense of the word. They are national strikes. They are people's strikes and when a national strike is on everything is closed down. There is no train service, no street car service. The little shops and all the big department stores are closed down. The town is absolutely dead as long as the strike is on. Everybody is in it.

I don't know whether you have heard of the big national strike in Copenhagen during the first week of July, 1944. It was organized as a move against a German curfew which compelled our people to stay in the house from eight o'clock at night at midsummer time, and against German court-martials, and other German measures with which they tried to subdue the Copenhagen people.

Well, the strike was established and we showed the Germans what a totalitarian strike means and after five days we forced the Germans to give in and to repeal the curfew and other measures they had introduced.

I just want to tell you one little incident which might convey to you the spirit of that strike. On the fourth day of the strike the food situation grew a little serious and we found out that in a Copenhagen meat factory there were rather large stores of sausages, lard and bacon. So we went down to the factory and found the Inspector and told him that we wanted these things. He said, "I am awfully sorry—I would be very glad to give it to you but the Germans have just been here and requisitioned everything".

We said, "We must have them." "Alright", said the Inspector, "let us try".

The leader of the undertaking was a very brave Danish woman. She organized the whole thing. We got eighty young people with bicycles, and they started to drive away with the packages of lard and sausages and bacon. They came back and said that the Germans had barred the way to the depot where they were supposed to bring the things. The woman said, "Well, then, we must take it into the Church of the Messiah. I was sent on my bicycle to get the key and open the church door. I went to various of the church officials, the church warden and the sexton and the priest, but nobody was at home or in their office. They were all on strike. Well, I finally found the grave digger. Unfortunately, he wasn't at home either but just as I left his house a woman called out of the window that he was coming down the street, so I rode up with my bicycle and said straight away, "Give me the key for the Church of the Messiah. We want to put sausages in it." He produced the key and said, "Alright, that's fine." He didn't ask the reason why.

I went away and opened the door, and do you know what drove up in front of the church door just as I opened it? Two big Marias, two big police cars, with all the sausages and the lard and the bacon inside.

During that strike I, personally, saw some of the atrocities which you have heard about and which you sometimes hardly will believe really happen. When the strike had lasted a few days the food situation, as I said, grew serious, and people assembled in queues in front of the bacon shops and the grocery shops. Out in one of the suburbs where I was out inspecting things, I saw a lorry with a German machine gun on the roof of the driver's seat come down the street and as it passed this queue of people in front of a bacon shop they fired and swept down the queue and we had to bring 23 casualties to the hospital from that civilian queue.

On another street in Copenhagen they went down with airplanes and machine gunned other similar queues. My wife was out in the country, where we live near the main road, and she took people in from the road, who had fled from Copenhagen with their old people and their children. Among the twenty odd people she housed during this strike was a family of a man and his wife and four children. They had evacuated from their flat in Copenhagen because the Germans had driven past in a patrol lorry and had thrown a hand grenade through the windows of their neighbour and had killed the man and his wife and a small girl.

More than 600 of our best young people have so far sacrificed their lives for our country. More than 1,000 have been wounded and in the German concentration camps and prisons in Germany, as well as in Denmark, there are at present 10,000 of our most brilliant countrymen. For to wage an underground fight it takes the best, the most energetic, the bravest, the most courageous people.

I am going to finish this address by telling you just a few things about one of these young men. He bears the very good Danish name of Christian Hansen, and he passed his Matriculation in 1942, but instead of going to the university, he devoted all his time to the fight. In 1944, unfortunately, he was arrested by the Gestapo, taken to prison and was sentenced to death, and on the 23rd of June, 1944, he was executed together with seven comrades, members of his group.

Before he died he wrote a letter. It was just a few hours before he was going to be shot. He wrote it to four friends who were in the same prison. These four friends were murdered a few weeks later in the cellars of the Copenhagen Gestapo Headquarters, without any legal procedure whatsoever. Christian Hansen's last letter was written on a small piece of yellow toilet paper and smuggled along to those four friends. I will ask you, when I read it, to remind yourself of the fact that this young man was 23 years old. The letter is a testimonial of the degree to which the underground warfare will ripen the young people's personality. He writes like this: "My friends: This greeting will be the last you hear from me. I have been sentenced to death. In a few hours they will shoot me. When you are young and love life as I do, it is hard to say "Goodbye" to life, hard to say "Goodbye" to the girl you love, the dear ones at home and all the friends. It is hard but not at all meaningless. If a people shall live somebody must necessarily die."

"Promise me that you will not mourn or grow bitter when you hear that I am dead. We are all of us soldiers at the front now. We have all of us chosen to fight here, staking our lives for all that we know is Freedom, Truth and Justice. As young Danes we can be proud that we fight and die for our people and for all that is dear and holy to us on earth."

"My last personal wish is that you will remember me in your gatherings and when you tell your children about Denmark."

"I thank you for the friendship and loyalty I met with you. I assure you I have been quiet all the time and Gestapo has not made me speak by using their special methods."

"I do not feel inclined to ask you to forgive me that I have let you into the fight and thereby am guilty of bringing you into prison. I only want to thank you for all you have meant to me. We have experienced the deep ties of friendship. Friends always become part of one another. Part of me will live with you and part of me will die with you."

"When they have shot me and if you get free, tell my dear people at home and my friends that this had to be so. Help my father and mother, my sisters and brothers, to understand this. Farewell then, you brave boys. We have lived under our seven hundred year old flag with the white cross of peace in the red colour of the ensign of battle."

"Let faith, hope and love remain among you, and the greatest of the three is love. I have loved and lived—loved the growing, dawning life. I have loved people in whom I found the image of God. I have lived and will die in my faith in Him that said, "Fire have I come to spread upon the earth." In a few hours will I face fire. I am no longer. But let the firing squad fire. Let them flog and torture, let the darkness of Long Friday spread over our country. We shall fool them on Easter Sunday.

I shall see you again, dear friends. Goodbye and God bless you.—Christian."

"SASKATCHEWAN'S POST-WAR PLANS"

An Address By

THE HONOURABLE T. C. DOUGLAS
Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, April 5, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: A year ago, the Executive of this Club decided to send invitations to each of the Premiers of Canadian Provinces to address our Club during the season, on their suggested post-war programs. Today, we welcome the Premier of Saskatchewan to our Club.

The Honourable T. C. Douglas was born in Scotland and at the age of six came to Canada with his parents. As a youth he learned the printing trade in Winnipeg, and still carries his union card. In 1924, he entered Brandon College to study for the ministry and in 1930 he received his Bachelor of Arts degree and also a call to become the pastor of Weyburn Baptist Church. During his college course, he won fame in sport circles by capturing the lightweight boxing championship of Manitoba. At University, he won gold medals for debating, dramatics and oratory. In 1933, he received his Master of Arts degree from McMaster University with a thesis on mental hygiene and public health.

In 1933, he attended the national convention of the C.C.F. party as a delegate.

In 1934, he was an unsuccessful candidate in the Saskatchewan election as a Farmer-Labor representative.

In 1935. he was elected to the Dominion House representing the Weyburn constituency as a C.C.F. member. He has had nine years experience in the Federal House. In the spring of 1944, he resigned to accept the leadership of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, and as you know, was successful in that campaign. The Legislature under his leadership completed its session just about two weeks ago.

I have much pleasure in presenting The Honourable T. C. Douglas, Premier, President of the Council and Minister of Public Health for the Province of Saskatchewan, who will address us on "Saskatchewan's Post-War Plans".

HONOURABLE T. C. DOUGLAS: Mr. President, Fellow Guests, Gentlemen: I want to thank Mr. Conquergood and the members of The Empire Club for your very kind invitation to be here today. I never sit down to a dinner like this but I am reminded of a story that has been passed down in our family for a good many years. The story is that one of my ancestors, whose name was Sir James Douglas, used to live in the City of Edinburgh, and he was noted for being quite a wit. Most of my ancestors were just half-wits, but he was a whole wit. He was noted for having a rather sarcastic tongue in his head.

It so happened that a certain American millionaire was coming to the City of Edinburgh and he was to receive the freedom of the city at a dinner to be given there. That is the only thing you ever get for nothing in that city. When the American millionaire heard that Sir James was going to be there, he said, "Nothing doing. That fellow Douglas will make some nasty remark about me. I am not going."

The Lord Mayor of the city spoke to Sir James and it was agreed that Sir James would confine his remarks for the whole evening to a single statement. So he went to the dinner—a Scotsman always likes to get a free meal—and he sat for a long while and said not a word.

The main dish was a little chicken pattie, of which the American millionaire consumed huge quantities. Finally, he felt he ought to make some excuse for his appetite, so he turned to the Lord Mayor and said, "You know, I have eaten almost as many of these chicken patties as

Samson slew of the Philistines". "Yes", said Sir James, "and with the same weapon—the jawbone of an ass".

I was rather pleased when today one of your oldest members said he was surprised that I was young. Most people begin by saying they are surprised I am so small. I am not alarmed by the knowledge that I am either small or young. I am getting over the youthfulness almost every day and I have given up all hope of ever growing any bigger.

My father, though, was a big man—like most Scotsmen—and he used to like to tell stories about the Scotch because a joke is the only thing that a Scotsman can enjoy at his own expense.

This story is about a Scotchman who got a job as a policeman. He bumped into a little Cockney and he got in an argument with him. The Cockney was getting the worst of the argument and he got angry. He shook his fist in the Scotchman's face and said, "I could eat you".

The Scotchman said, "Mon, if you could eat me you would be a biological monstrosity because you would have more brains in your stomach than you have got in your head."

Now, I do appreciate the kind invitation of your Club to come and speak to you. I do not feel, because we have many differences in point of view on social, economic and political matters, that it should not be possible for us to discuss together the plans which concern the future benefit and mutual interests of this country. I think that it is proof of the broad interest of your Club that you have asked me to come here and speak to you about the post-war plans of the Saskatchewan Government.

Before we talk about Saskatchewan's post-war plans, let me just put to you very briefly the problems that face the people of Saskatchewan and, as a matter of fact, the people of the three Prairie Provinces.

First, the Prairies were opened up by a pioneer people, who had no great amount of money to invest, with the result that the capital for developing the West came from

Eastern Canada, from the United States and from the United Kingdom. That is a good thing. But it has meant that throughout the years, whether we had crops or had no crops, a steady share of the annual production of wealth has had to be drained off from the Prairies to pay interest on that capital investment.

Now, there has been no complaint about making payments out of wealth which is produced, but, as every one knows, there have been years when very little wealth was produced. Yet there had to be drained off a portion of that wealth to pay interest on capital, or there had to be a further accumulation of debt and that has worked a tremendous hardship.

Any of you who are engaged in the credit business will agree with me when I say the best proof that the people of the Prairies have wanted to pay their debt is that during the war, when the price of farm production has gone up, the farmers have come forward to pay debts which in some cases credit institutions had long ago given up as hopeless. Credit men are amazed at the way payments have come in, with the result a great deal of debt on the Prairies has been liquidated.

The same is true not only of the people of Saskatchewan but of the Government of Saskatchewan. The Government of Saskatchewan has met its obligations and intends to continue to meet its obligations.

There has been some dispute, for instance, on the matter of seed grain, which I will not discuss now because it is a political question. All I want to say is that the Saskatchewan Government was never a debtor; it is a guarantor, along with the Federal Government. There is no question of default. The only matter under dispute is how the share of responsibility shall be divided as between the Province and the Federal Government.

There is the first problem—the fact that most of our settlement in Western Canada was financed by capital which came from outside, with the result a steady share of our income must be drained off annually, irrespective of whether we have a crop or not.

Another problem is that the people of the Prairies, living as they do in a largely agricultural economy, find that they must buy most of their manufactured goods in a closed market, and during the 'twenties and the 'thirties, they found themselves paying for their machinery, for their clothing, for their farm implements, for their cars, for their gasoline, for their radios, at prices anywhere from 25 to 50 per cent more than the farmers on the United States side of the border.

Well, you might persuade them that in the interests of a young and growing country they ought to make this concession, until they find that they must sell their products on the markets of the world; that their wheat must be sold in competition with Argentina's cheap labour; that their bacon and pork must be sold in competition with Denmark which is close to the markets of the world; that their butter must be sold in competition with New Zealand, which has a climate that allows the farmers to keep their stock out twelve months in the year. The Prairie farmer then finds, while he bought all the things which he needed in a closed, protected market and paid the top price, he must sell in an open market at a very low price indeed, and at one which fluctuated from day to day and from year to year.

Not only that, but the Prairie farmer found that this thing called the freight rate structure—a thing, amazing and wonderful to behold—was so constituted that, when he tried to ship goods from one part of the country to the other, freight rates were almost prohibitive.

I still remember the time that Gerry McGeer, formerly Mayor of Vancouver, and now a Member of the Federal House, went before the Board of Railway Commissioners and said, "All I want to draw to the attention of the Board is that Japan is located at the other side of the Pacific Ocean."

The Chairman said, "I think, Mr. McGeer, the Board is perfectly aware of that."

Mr. McGeer said, "Well, I was looking up the freight rates and noticed that it cost more to send wheat from

Regina to Vancouver than to send it from Regina to Tokio. I thought probably you were under the impression that Japan was somewhere in Alberta."

When you remember that during the 'thirties, at a time when on the Prairies we were having partial crop failures, with a lot of either frozen or low grade wheat which was excellent for chicken feed, we found that it cost us more to send the chicken feed down to the Ontario farmer than it would cost to send it to Great Britain. When the cost of sending Ontario apples to Saskatchewan was more than the cost of sending Ontario apples to Great Britain, you can see that the Prairie farmer has come to feel that the dice have been pretty badly loaded against him.

Then there has been another problem. As the years have gone by, as the need for social services has developed, the constitutional development of this country has not kept pace with the changes that have taken place, with the result that we have now come to the spot where an unnecessary and grievous burden is placed upon all Provincial Governments.

When the Fathers of Confederation drew up the British North America Act, social services were almost unheard of. The world hadn't yet heard of such things as Old Age Pensions, Mothers' Allowances, Unemployment Insurance. Technological unemployment, as we knew it in the 'thirties was unknown in 1867. So the Fathers of Confederation, in allocating the powers as between the Provincial and Federal Government, gave the Provincial Government responsibility for social services, because it wasn't a very heavy responsibility, but overlooked the very important detail of giving to the Provincial Government the necessary sources of revenue with which to discharge that responsibility. As the years have gone by in the interim, social services have taken an increasingly important place in the thinking of all civilized nations, with the result that today in every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, social services have a very high place in all our social legislation.

The Provinces have found that they are responsible in times of distress for caring for the unemployed, caring for the sick, caring for the needy, caring for the aged, caring for the disabled, with none of the sources of revenue that would make it possible to adequately discharge that obligation.

So the time has come when our Constitution, we feel, must be streamlined to meet the needs of the Twentieth Century.

Now, that, very briefly and very sketchily, is something of the problem that faces the people of Saskatchewan.

What are our plans for the post-war period to meet those problems? I think I can put them roughly into three classifications.

First, what we think should be done, and what we hope will be done on the constitutional level. We feel that there is a great and pressing need for a Dominion-Provincial Conference, to be called primarily for the purpose of reallocating powers and determining sources of revenue.

We are frank to admit that there are some powers which the Provincial Government probably ought to surrender to the Federal Government. Take, for instance, the power to make labour legislation. Every Provincial Government knows the moment it passes progressive or advanced labour legislation that province is penalizing its own business men and its own manufacturers who are in competition with another province which probably hasn't any labour legislation or very meagre labour legislation. The only way you can have adequate labour legislation is to have labour legislation in effect from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Therefore, it is probably time for the Provinces to surrender that power to a Federal authority.

The same thing is true of some forms of taxation. I think the war has proved that there ought to be one taxing authority, especially with reference to income and corporation tax. To have the average business man or the average individual paying two sets of income tax, paying tax on tax, is not only cumbersome, but it is inequitable, and the war has probably proven to us the necessity for having one taxing authority collecting all funds by means of corporation income tax, and then reallocating that money to the provinces, either on the pro rata basis or on the basis of need.

But, on the other hand, there are certain things which the Federal Government will have to surrender. The Federal Government will have to make up its mind to one of two things: either the Federal Government must assume responsibility for those who are incapable of looking after themselves—the aged, the needy, the widow, the orphan, the physically disabled, the unemployed, the unemployable—or they must be prepared to allocate to the Provinces, either on a basis of need or a basis of population, a sufficiently large grant to allow the Provinces to take care of those who are in need, and such a grant, if given, of course would have to be inviolate against seizure under any pretext whatsoever.

Now, we don't think, as a Province or as a Government, that there can be any planning for the post-war until we have first of all set our house in order with reference to these constitutional readjustments. When I mention the Dominion-Provincial Conference, let me say here and now, as far as the Government of Saskatchewan is concerned, we will go to such a Conference not thinking only in terms of Saskatchewan, but thinking in terms of the welfare of Canada as a whole, because more than being Saskatchewanites we are Canadians. We must be prepared to merge our Provincial interests in the larger national picture, just as the Canadian people, in turn, must be prepared to merge their interests in terms of the larger Empire picture, and the welfare of the family of nations as a whole.

Let me say something about the second basis upon which we think our post-war planning must be placed, that is, the social welfare basis. I do not believe that any part of the English-speaking world will ever again go back to the old theory that the state has no responsibility for the individual. Social services are here to stay. Let us make no mistake about that. I think the war has driven home to us this fact, that if you and I believe, as I suppose most of us do, that the citizen has an obligation to the state in time of war; then we must believe the corollary to that, that the State has an obligation to the citizen in time of peace; that if we have the right to come and ask a man to risk and lay down his life for this country when it is in danger, then that man says the State has a responsibility to him and his family if, through no fault of his own, he is unable to provide for himself and his family.

We are never going back to *laissez faire* policy. In every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations today, what do we find? We find in the United Kingdom itself a growing demand for increased social services and better social welfare. We find in New Zealand, we find in Australia, we find in the county to the south of us, the United States of America, a growing demand that society, collectively, shall accept responsibility for caring for those who cannot care for themselves.

In Saskatchewan we place that first. We say that before any other obligation, our first obligation is to take care of the needy. To that end we have taken a number of what we think are important steps. We have started a health programme now which provides free care and treatment for all persons suffering from tuberculosis; free diagnosis, care and treatment, hospitalization and surgery for all persons suffering from cancer or suspected of suffering from cancer. We are now supplying a completely free treatment to all persons thought to be suffering from venereal disease. We are bringing pencillin to all practitioners for the treatment of venereal disease. We have set up completely free medical, hospital, surgical and dental services, free drugs and appliances for all Old Age Pensioners, all blind persons and dependents, all widows and children in receipt of the Mothers' Allowance.

It covers over 25,000 persons who since the 1st of January this year have been given completely free health services in the Province of Saskatchewan. We think this is our job. We have increased the Mothers' Allowance, in addition to giving them free health service. We have increased the Old Age Pension, in addition to giving pensioners the free health services I mentioned.

We have other things which will have to be done in the future. The day is not far distant when all across this country there must be a crop insurance plan so that farmers in every province, when they have crops, will be able to put money aside into a fund which will tide them over the period when there are no crops.

We are going to have to take care in this Dominion of Canada, and we want to do it very soon in the Province of Saskatchewan, of those people who are physically disabled, people crippled with arthritis and rheumatism and infantile paralysis, people who are a burden on their immediate friends or upon the community, and who we feel ought to be accepted as a responsibility in the same way we accept responsibility for the aged.

These are social services which we have started, and which we feel must be continued. The Government has set as its motto *"Humanity First"*. The first demand upon the Treasury, the first demand upon the attention of the Government, the most important part of the legislation put upon the statute books must be concerned with human need and human welfare.

I want to say here to this Empire Club that if there is anything which has kept the British Empire as a great entity in world affairs, if there is anything that will keep it a powerful force in the years that lie ahead, it will be to continue increasingly to place the welfare of the individual in the forefront of our thinking. No nation is great, no Empire is great, when it has lost sight of the value and the work of the individual.

Already there are signs all over the British Empire. Statesmen of various political opinions and various social ideologies are recognizing that the first charge upon any government is the care and the welfare of the common man.

Let me deal now with the third basis upon which we think our post-war plan should be based, the economic basis. We recognize that no Province in Canada can possibly hope to remain an island of security in a nation where there is economic insecurity. No Province can possibly hope to have a Utopia of abundance and plenty if the rest of the country is plunged into the depths of an economic depression, any more than the Dominion of Canada itself can hope to enjoy prosperity and abundance if the world is plunged into a period of economic maladjustment. The Province is a part of the nation, just as the nation is a part of the Empire, and the Empire is a part of the great world scene. We are bound to be affected by what happens in the rest of the world.

But, Mr. Chairman, the one thing which a Province can do and which a nation can do, and which the Empire can do, is that we can cushion the blow of economic maladjustment in other parts of the world. For instance, during the 'thirties, we couldn't sell our wheat. We couldn't sell our timber. We couldn't sell our leather. It wasn't our fault we couldn't sell these things. We couldn't make people buy these things. But we maintain because we couldn't sell our wheat was no reason why some of our people should go without flour; because we couldn't sell our lumber was no reason why our own people shouldn't build houses and why carpenters and bricklayers should walk the streets; and because we couldn't sell our leather was no reason why we couldn't use leather here at home, but that we can cushion the blow to some extent.

We think that blow can be cushioned in Saskatchewan, and in Canada as a whole by a development of the economic resources which we have.

I am rather dismayed sometimes when I read of people who are distressed about the million young men and women who will be coming back from overseas. They say, "What will we do with them? That will mean another depression. That will mean more unemployment."

Gentlemen, if our economy is sane at all, if we live in a rational world, why should we be dismayed about another pair of hands and another brain put to work on the task of production? Every person who is put to work ought to mean an increase in the total amount of wealth available for consumption by the people of Canada. We ought to welcome back every person who is capable of working. We ought to welcome any increase in our total production of goods, if we are prepared to see that those goods are made available to the people who need them. Let us not be pessimistic and let us not be fearful.

In our Province in 1943, only nine per cent of our production came from industry. Only two per cent of our population were engaged in any industrial pursuit. That is too small. You can understand why our people feel they have become hewers of wood and drawers of water.

We have tremendous natural resources waiting to be developed. We are not suggesting for a moment that in a Province like Saskatchewan we can develop industry on the scale which the Province of Ontario has, and the Province of Quebec. Nor do we think for a moment we can develop artificial industry such as, for instance, the textile industry, but there are industries in Saskatchewan which are indigenous to Saskatchewan, and could be engaged in the processing of the things which our people produce from the farm, the forest, the lakes and the mines.

Now, we propose that these industries shall be developed on a threefold basis. First, that they shall be developed through private enterprise. We have welcomed at all times, and will continue to welcome private enterprise into the development of the industries of the Province of Saskatchewan. We have private enterprise there now. We will continue to encourage them to come in, not to exploit our resources and our people, but to co-operate with us in the development of these resources for the mutual benefit of both contracting parties.

Secondly, we want to see these resources developed on a co-operative basis as well as on a basis of private enterprise. We have gone a long way already. Our farmers own a tremendous grain handling system. Our farmers own today their own oil refinery. They have Co-operatives for distributing binder twine, flour, many things which the farmers can use in bulk. There is not a conflict there between private enterprise and co-operative enterprise. There is a place where they meet. In the distribution of many of those goods private enterprise was guilty of duplication and wastefulness in distribution. The Co-operatives have eliminated much of the duplication and much of the wastefulness. They are buying their goods from private enterprise and distributing on a more economical basis, and they are co-operatively controlled by the farmers themselves and any person who is familiar with the scene in the United Kingdom will know what a large and important place the Co-operative movement has played in the British economy and the British war effort.

The third basis upon which we propose to have this industrial development is on the basis of government enterprise. Here again we believe, not that government and co-operative enterprise are at variance with private enterprise, but that each have a field; that there is a field for government enterprise, as you have proven yourselves in this Province by your Hydro-Electric System, which is one of the finest in the world. We feel in Saskatchewan, where our electrical power has been in the hands of various duplicating companies that that is something which ought to be owned and controlled by the people through their Provincial Government. To that end we have already bought out the controlling interest in one of the largest power companies, and we propose to develop further along that line.

We are in the process of erecting three fish filleting plants, with a view to developing a fish filleting industry for the fishermen in Northern Saskatchewan.

We are now in the process of erecting a woollen mill, because up to now no attempt has been made to process the wool grown right on the Prairies and produce wool in our own province.

Our Co-operatives are taking steps now, not only to refine oil but to put up a linseed oil processing plant. We grow the finest flax in the world. We can process it into linseed oil, and make it into linseed cake for feeding of stock. That can be done by the farmers themselves through their own Co-operatives.

We have set up a brick and clay products plant again, because there has been little or no construction in our Province, because building material has been high, because private enterprise has been timid about going in. We envisage after the war a house building programme. There is nothing we need in Saskatchewan more than decent homes.

We are hoping also to go into lumber. The present Timber Control regulations prevent us doing so during the War. We have given way to that. We have no wish at all to interefere in any way with the war effort, but we are convinced as soon as the war is over a great house building programme should be started again as a cooperative effort between the Government on the one hand, seeking to get the raw materials, the people themselves, and private enterprise, which we feel will be interested in coming and advancing people money and loaning people money under the National Housing Scheme to make it possible for them to build in the Province of Saskatchewan.

Let me stress this, that when we talk about industrial development we think that such development is a cooperative effort. We are beginning a new age in this country. Our friends, the Americans, have already shown us what can be done by means of chemurgy, where in the Midwestern States they have made synthetic rubber out of grain, they have made grain alcohol, they have made plastics, they have made wheat syrup, they have made wheat starch and made them successfully.

We haven't even begun. We think there is the place where the Government can go in and set up pilot plants, can experiment with industries which utilize agricultural products for the manufacture of goods which people need.

It doesn't mean that because we believe in government ownership we believe in it to the exclusion of everybody else. We do believe that the government, wherever it can give a lead, that the Co-operatives, wherever they can do so more efficiently, that private enterprise, wherever it will come in and work in conjunction with the people, can together begin to build in Saskatchewan the kind of industrial economy that will give to our people the economic security they have been denied so long.

I want to say just this before I sit down. When this war is over we shall have to make tremendous adjustments, not just in Saskatchewan but all over the world. The greatest enemy of the British Empire, the greatest enemy of Canadian unity and of Canadian well-being is not, as some people think, those who would dare to blaze new trails. The greatest obstacle to future peace and happiness are those people who insist on clinging to the past long after the past is dead.

The Saskatchewan Government is not desirous of destroying things which are proven and which are meeting human needs, but we are desirous of making those changes which are necessary if the period that will follow the war is to have more human happiness than the period which preceded the war.

"New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must ever up and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo, before us gleam their camp-fires,
We, ourselves, must pilgrims be;
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly,
Into Life's tempestuous sea,
Nor attempt to unlock the future,
With the Past's blood-rusted key."

But I bring you this message from Saskatchewan, Members of The Empire Club. Just as we must stand together in the period that follows the war, I want to tell you that the people of Saskatchewan, whether you agree with everything we do or not, stand with you and with the rest of the people of Canada in the prior task, that is, the task of destroying tyranny and driving it forever from the face of the earth.

Our people have proven by the eighty odd thousand of their sons and daughters who are in the Armed Forces, by the contribution they have made to Victory Loans, by the marvellous agricultural production which exceeded even our fondest expectations, the Saskatchewan people have proven to the rest of Canada and the world that they stand with you for the bringing about of that day when—

"The meteor flag of England,
Terrific yet shall burn,
Till Danger's troubled night depart
And the Star of Peace return."

"THE PUZZLING YEARS AHEAD"

An Address By

ROY H. THOMSON

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, April 12, 1945

Mr. C. R. Conquergood: In an issue a few weeks ago, *Liberty Magazine* introduced our guest speaker of to-day to its readers with this comment, which will bear repeating: "It is one of the paradoxes of this age of universal communications that while the publisher of a newspaper or the owner of a radio station may be instrumental in acquainting large sections of the public with the names, fames and shames of hundreds of personalities in the field of politics, sport, entertainment or business, he himself is rarely known".

Our guest speaker today is Mr. Roy H. Thomson who now controls five Ontario Daily Newspapers and three Ontario Radio Stations.

Mr. Thomson is a native of Toronto, and was educated here. His business career was interrupted by World War I. He secured his commission as Lieutenant but did not get overseas at that time. Following the war, he eventually transferred to Northern Ontario as a radio distributor. This led to the establishment of a radio station. Later, he bought the newspaper at Timmins, the *"Press"* which he found so interesting that he has since acquired papers in Old Ontario. He now controls in addition to the *Timmins Press, The Galt Reporter, The Sarnia Canadian-Observer, The Woodstock Sentinel-Review* and the *Welland-Port Colborne Tribune*. His radio stations are CKGB at Timmins, CJKL at Kirkland Lake and CFCH at North Bay.

Mr. Thomson has recently been overseas where he went as a war correspondent.

I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. Roy H. Thomson, President of Thomson Publications Limited, who is to speak to us on "The Puzzling Years Ahead".

MR. ROY H. THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Gentlemen: I know many members of the Empire Club are already aware of conditions in Great Britain. Perhaps you visited the country during wartime yourselves; or you have heard speakers, better fitted than I, give adequate descriptions of life as it must be lived in those islands under conditions of war. So, for a few minutes, I ask your indulgence while I run over some of the things I observed during my few weeks in the United Kingdom and in France.

It is necessary that I do, because an understanding of what the people of Britain are going through today—of what they have gone through in the past five and a half years— leads to an understanding of the problems that will be theirs when the war is over. Also, it gives us a better understanding of the manner in which the British people can, or may be able to measure up to those problems.

But I would like to say this here and now, that any group of people who have the sheer courage—"guts" is probably the most fitting and descriptive word—to go through what the British men, women and children have gone through, have also got the courage and ambition to solve the many problems which are going to rise up and plague the British people. Whether they have the wherewithal to beat those problems is another question. But certainly they have the courage. As often as life in wartime England was described to me, I found it incredible when I saw it at first hand and was part of it only a few weeks ago. Here, we have no idea of wartime inconvenience. In Britain they seem to know nothing else. To my mind those people of Britain—the civilians—the little men and women and their children, are heroes every bit as much as their men of the front line, for in this war they have submerged everything to the business of fighting.

You have heard much about the blackout. In late November, when the nights started early and lasted long, I found it the most depressing thing imaginable. Those people live like owls and it struck me the cruellest thing you can do to anybody is to take away light. The whole life of the British community has been changed to coincide as much as possible with the hours of daylight. People scurry for home early in the evening. Theatres open at six o'clock so they can close about eight and allow people to reach their homes before the transportation systems close down. Nobody seems to want to stay out late and, for all that they say London now has more lighting than at any time in the war, I found it the darkest place in which I had ever been.

To say the British people have been marvellous is an absolute understatement. They may be tired but their morale is tremendous, and, in all truth, I doubt whether we, in Canada, could have carried on as they have done.

However, the daily perils and the hard living which the British people have gone through during the past five years have left their mark very definitely on them. Their nerves are frayed and this was brought home to me one morning when I boarded a bus on Piccadilly. The girl bus driver was crying openly and it was obvious that she had entirely lost control of herself. She was unable to make change as the passengers handed her their fares and she had just broken down completely. Some distance further on an inspector got on the bus and rode along with the girl in order to get her straightened out. I asked the passenger sitting next to me what had happened and he told me that it was not an unusual thing to find an odd person whose nerves had given way in this manner.

Everything in Britain looks worn and old. For five years there have been no repairs and when something breaks it stays broken. For example, I was taken somewhere by an Englishman in his car—and he was a very wealthy man. The handle of the door on my side had been broken and every time it had to be opened from the inside. He just could not get it repaired and that is only one small example.

The blackout is only one of their lesser problems. In Britain there is clothes rationing that leaves a nation looking threadbare and food rationing that has turned Britons into a race of lean men. It is only factual to say that England's normal standard of living has become a war casualty, and the future poses the question of whether it will ever come back.

Today the British stores have little or nothing to sell. There is a shortage of everything and people can buy only the bare necessities. To the housewife money is not the important thing; it is ration points that count.

So, this war economy in Britain has been the greatest levelling-off process that any country has ever seen. You might even call it a system of equal discomfort for all. The heating, wherever you go, will bear witness to that.

At one time I occupied a room in the Ritz Hotel—familiar to many of you I'm sure. This accommodation was costing me roughly twenty-five dollars a day but—listen to this—it got so cold in that room I had to go out into the November chill to get warm.

In the shops you find prices are high, if there is anything worthwhile to be bought. Rationed foods, of course, are sold at fixed prices but for other things the purchase tax, ranging from one-third to one hundred per cent, has raised the price of everything to a degree where it must be difficult indeed for the Briton to make do on his wages. Even if his wartime salary is greater than his old peacetime earnings I would say the Briton's purchasing power generally is considerably less because of the lack of things to buy and the heavy purchase taxes.

So it can safely be said that Britain to-day is doing with less than ever before while her whole industry is harnessed to producing for war.

One point might serve to bring home just how stringent things can be. I don't doubt you all enjoy a plate of bacon and eggs as much as I do. Well, in England they give eggs to the people—or rather make them available for purchase—by allocation. Whenever there is an allocation each ration ticket holder is entitled to one egg. That doesn't sound too bad, you say; but wait! When I was there, there had been only one allocation of eggs in the past two months. Since my return I have not been able to eat an egg with a clear conscience. And it struck me that anybody in Canada, who could see the situation at first hand, would feel only too glad and too proud to be in a position to help out the British people with food wherever he possibly could, even at some sacrifice to himself.

Curiously enough statistics seem to show that this rationing of food has had a beneficial effect on the health of the nation. But don't ever let anybody tell you that it doesn't take most of the fun out of life.

"Urgent living" sums it up about as well as anything. You get only a minimum of heat, a minimum of light, a minimum of soap, a minimum of food, a minimum of hot water, a minimum of clothing and footwear. And if you want to do something nice for some English friend, send him a bathtowel. He has probably cut his old one in two, long years ago, just to save some of the clothing coupons which must be given up for towels, in the same way they are for a pair of trousers.

Added to all these inconveniences there has, of course, been the extra hazard of enemy action. Since last spring and until the last few days, no one knew when one of the Germans' new V bombs was going to strike next—especially in London.

When I was in London there wasn't a day went by that you didn't hear the explosion of a V-2 or rocket bomb. Nobody ever heard them coming in. There was just a great explosion, followed by the sound of falling masonry. But life went on with no apparent regard for these things—except of course the heavy rescue squads, the ambulances and the firemen—and it seemed fantastic that people under fire could carry on with such high morale. Fortunately the news of the past few days indicates London has been free of these attacks and we can hope, thanks to the accomplishments of our Canadian troops in Holland, that they are over for good.

Now, as to France. I spent only four days in Paris.

Not long but long enough to gain some impressions at least. And, while I found that Paris itself has not changed, the people have. They have a very chastened look about them.

Their problems of life are even greater than those of the British people. For one thing, their economy has gone completely out of gear. The French are in the midst of a terrific inflation. There is virtually nothing to buy, yet you find the Frenchman putting a fairly good face on things. The French tradesman is a better window-dresser than the Englishman. So in Paris and other French cities you find attractive shop windows. But inside the shop? Nothing! The storekeeper has put it all in the window.

There is little for sale that would attract anybody—while prices are fantastic. Mostly the articles are perfumes and baubles and hardly the stuff on which a nation wants to spend its money at a time when this same money is worth so little and the need is for the substantial things that give new life to a country—food and clothing, but chiefly food.

In France there has been real suffering so far as food goes. I talked to one man, a Standard Oil Company executive, who stayed in Paris during the occupation. He was a Frenchman and a man of some means. But he told me that had he not had a relative in the country within reach by bicycle on the week-ends, as an extra source of food, he did not know how his family would have survived. People of the big centres suffered most and the poorer people, unlike my Standard Oil friend, did not have the means or the facilities to go to the country where the food was grown even were they fortunate enough to have some farming relative.

A great many people, particularly among the farming population, were better off in France, Belgium and Holland, during the German occupation than they are today after being liberated. For them the occupation meant, in effect, a redistribution of wealth. It turned the farmer into the aristocrat because he was a man with food to sell at the expense of the city dweller, whose output went to the Germans. The meagre rations inspired a tremendous black market business which it was almost necessary to patronize in order to survive at all. As a result the country people were doing well by themselves during the occupation and were none too anxious to be liberated!

In brief, gentlemen, that is how the facts appeared to me in Great Britain and France during my all-too-brief stay. And I only wish I could leave with you, from this description, the feeling I got myself, in Britain, that there was a country which had given everything—absolutely everything—to a point where personal comfort meant nothing whatever; to a point where I feel we have some responsibility for their future welfare.

The future is the big question mark in the minds of the British business men. Personally, I would call it more than a question mark; yes, something much more ominous than a question mark, because it seems to me that when the peace with Germany has been established, the battle is only beginning for Britain. Then she enters on an altogether new fight—a battle for survival in a world quite different from that in which she held so high a place before the war. It will be, in effect, a battle for a decent standard of living in the British Isles.

For the British there are terrific problems ahead and I, for one, don't envy them the solving of these problems one bit. For one thing, Britain today is in a much worse position to fight this forthcoming battle for economic survival than she has ever been. Britain to-day, as compared to Britain of pre-war years, is a poor nation. Those, who are pessimistic about Britain's place in the post-war world have much evidence to support their doleful outlook, it seems to me.

That is where we, here in Canada, come in. The future of Britain is—and there can be no getting away from it —one of the responsibilities that go with membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is a responsibility which, if we fully understand just what stringent times of sacrifice Britain has been through, we will be glad to shoulder.

Surely, for Britain, the pattern of the future is clear. And in all truth it is sombre enough. It means work, *hard* work, and no easy living. Much of the cost of war has still to be paid. The part that has been paid has dissipated the wealth which was accumulated over the centuries by British enterprise and grit and daring. Now Britain must start almost from scratch and compete, on a basis of not much more than her own resources, against the countries of the world, who, because of the war, have geared themselves to productive output undreamed of in other years.

The catch, gentlemen, in my view, lies in those words, "her own resources". You need only to draw a ring around those small islands and think then of what it means when we say "Britain's own resources." They are not great in comparison to other countries. That, then, is where the Empire and the colonies and full co-operation of the component parts of the Commonwealth with Britain comes in.

Make no mistake about it. Britain has been at the top too recently and too long for other countries to feel any particular sympathy over the impoverished condition in which she will be at the end of the war. For too long she has been the rich old dowager, the moneyed relation. So Britain will have to make her own future and the future standard of living of her people will depend entirely on her own efforts and the co-operation the Empire people give her.

The standard of living in Britain, prior to the war, was far below the standard of living in Canada. And Britain was only able to maintain that standard because of her far-flung interests, gained at great effort over long years and now largely dissipated. Unless the standard of living is to sink much lower in the post-war years, her efforts must indeed be prodigious.

There should be no sound reason for any hesitancy at helping Britain, on the part of Canada, or for that matter on the part of the United States as well. Consider it this way. Britain has poured everything into the war—

her men, her women, her children, her way of life, her wealth, and even her own home land. It has been only right that Canada and the United States should even up the account somewhat by supplying, in addition to man-power, other aid in the form of goods to Britain and other war-racked countries. So in this war we have had lend-lease and mutual aid.

As I see it this will have to continue after the war, for some good time to come, even if we have to strip it of these nice-sounding names—lend-lease and mutual aid—and call it outright gifts. That, in my opinion, is an unalterable fact.

There must be action and succor from the well-off parts of the world for the poorer sections, just as one part of our country would rally to the aid of another section in time of national disaster, such as, say, some great flood or an earthquake.

We must always remember that after the war Britain will not be starting on an even basis with those countries who will be her greatest competitors. Many of her industries have been battered. Many of her future greats are casualties of the war. Many of her patents and trade secrets have become the common property of all the United Nations. Except for invaded countries, the requirements of her reconstruction are infinitely greater than other parts of the world. We must remember a great percentage of her housing is either damaged or destroyed. Her industries must be changed over to peacetime requirements and adapted to mass production if she is to compete in the post-war world at all.

By Canadian, American, Russian or South American standards the British home islands are not rich in natural resources. These people cannot build up their future by selling or trading their own natural wealth and such wealth as they do build up out of their own home islands they must achieve by their own ingenuity and patents and smart business methods, which will enable them to out-trade and outsell competing nations in the world market.

But even the great qualities of the British people cannot offset the vast natural resources of the countries with which they will be competing. So here again we have the reason why, if Britain is to survive as a first class nation, and if her people are to have a reasonable standard of living, she must develop and trade the resources of the colonies and she must have the help and assistance of the Dominions. I believe, even the United States will now admit that over any substantial period of time one country cannot sell to another without taking payment in return in goods or services. Most certainly this applies in the fullest measure to Britain in the post-war years.

Britain will meet the most serious competition of her existence, and in self defence she will have to keep her imports down to a minimum. No nation has learned better than Britain, in these war years, just how effectively unessential imports can be kept down. Britain at war allows no drones in the hive. Everybody works, with the result that farming, to mention one industry, has been elevated to an honored vocation, to a place of great importance in Britain's economy. By a system of subsidies and controlled prices the British Government has made farming profitable and there is no doubt that in the post-war years she will see that this continues. Obviously that means less food to import and less imported food to pay for.

For another thing, there is the prevalence of the mass-production methods in other countries. Britain is far behind in mass production. It just hasn't been the British way. Theirs has been a father-to-son craft tradition resulting in a quality product. But I wonder how much that will mean in the post-war trading world? It may be a sad commentary on our modern way of life—but I think it is a true one—that people nowadays have placed the accent on something new, on something to have for this year, to use and to discard and replace with another new article next year. British high quality has little appeal to such people.

You might ask why can't Britain extend its use of mass production to equal that of other nations? I think she can, though admittedly she will be starting from a long way back. But Britain has never proved too adaptable to mass production and there are those who say the British people are not suited to such technique. Certainly the Britons are not prone to make changes just because there is something new around. To realize that, you have only to encounter the antiquated British plumbing, which so amuses and later annoys the Canadian and American boys.

In meditative mood, it strikes you that these same people turned out the Spitfire and Radar. Well, that shows what they can do when they have to. The future will show just how adaptable British industry and British workmen are to the needs of the moment.

I would say, from talks with publishers in London, with Lord Beaverbrook, with Brendan Bracken, the Minister of Information, that, because of their complete absorption with the war, the British people have been unable as yet to make detailed post-war plans. This war, great tragedy that it has been to all peoples, has, of course, been a terrible shock to England. It has been sufficiently severe to make them face their problems and search for the solutions.

Now, those who see Britain as having an especially hard row to hoe—and I am definitely one of them—point in the first place to the outstanding fact, which we must all admit, that all the United Nations are feverishly working to obtain a full share of world trade—and Britain, until the war years, was always a trading nation.

Foremost among these nations, out for world markets, is the United States. There is not likely to be a repetition of events which followed the Peace Treaty of 1919. At that time the United States kept its fingers out of the international pie. It had fought a war and was on the winning side. Its politicians said: "Let's wash our hands of Europe. Let us mind our own business and get into no more foreign entanglements." So they, to some extent, only nibbled at foreign markets. In this war the United States has taken part on a world wide scale. Its armies and navies and air forces have fought in the east and the west and their efforts this time have not been token efforts, but real efforts.

Also, the American people are reconciled to the fact that they are going to be involved in policing enemy countries and whether they like it or not they must be concerned with their economic affairs also. So we see the United States emerging as a world economic power and we see its politicians and business men eagerly eyeing the world market.

Pessimistic, but to my mind realistic, Englishmen point to their possessions in the Far East. They wonder if, after the war, Great Britain will assume unlimited control of them, and, if she does, will they have as much value as before the war. It is to be doubted that they will. Consider rubber, for instance. As a result of the war rubber has a strong competitor in the synthetic product. Who is to suggest that this country and the United States will scrap a $200,000,000 industry to buy rubber from Great Britain and the Netherlands possessions? It seems most unlikely that the demand for natural rubber will ever again reach pre-war levels.

The English businessman is not so naive that he has forgotten the antipathy created in the United States by the restrictive Stevenson Act. That was the act which made Harvey Firestone and other leaders in the United States start their own rubber plantations on territories out of British control. Too, these same pessimistic Englishmen cast a questioning eye on the vast cotton industry of their northern counties. Under wartime compulsion other processes have been developed for cotton manufacture, processes independent of the Lancashire climate. They see, as well, the rise of artificial and synthetic fabrics which will cut into the cotton market.

Most important of all, possibly, has been Britain's decline, through enemy action, from her former position as the world's greatest maritime power while the United States, through accelerated shipbuilding, emerges as a great power in the transportation world—by air and by sea. The dominance of the Clydeside and Tyneside is being eclipsed by Mr. Kaiser and his kind. Shipping has always been the bulwark of British economy. British bottoms carried the trade of the world and by aggressive operations and through government subsidies the British merchant marine managed to offer lower freight rates and better service to exporters and importers of all nations. Loss of this favored position is definitely something for Britons to be long-faced about.

I have touched now on what seem to be a few of the international problems which give grave concern to the people of the British Isles. Those are the facts as they appeared to me and I'll admit they are on the gloomy side.

But there is another side to the story . . . the same old tale that thrills people of British blood everywhere . . . the story of Britain's courage and the Briton's "never-say-die" spirit.

He knows he has been up against pretty tough odds before and that he has come through. He knows there is a deep sense of loyalty in all Britishers. He knows that from somewhere there always arises a British leader to rally the nation to great united effort and if only he and his fellows can be made to realize the urgency of this new fight the effort will be as great in the battle of the Peace as it was in the battle of the War.

Too, the Briton knows his country's experience in foreign affairs and experienced diplomacy is going to be invaluable in the days to come. And, while it may sound trite, the Englishman knows wholeheartedly and believes right to the grave that there'll always be an England. That is something rather wonderful. It is the same something that staved off the great blitz and the same something that won the Battle of Britain.

So, in looking at Britain today, you can see the two types of thinking; and sometimes both types are merged in the same man. One type is the down-to-earth, realistic facing of future problems. This is balanced off with the almost unbelievable optimism that everything will come out all right for good old England. To the North American mind that last is sometimes hard to understand.

While the Englishman looks somewhat askance at the future aggressive policies of the United States as a trading nation he looks too at the British Dominions with wonderment and amazement because he sees—and all too clearly—that Canada particularly, is emerging from this war not only matured but experienced. For Canada is a country with its own voice, a voice which carries a good deal of weight in the world. And you men know all too well that even our one hundred per cent wartime industries are not talking about closing up. They're talking about conversion and exports.

Right at this moment several leading industries have their men in foreign fields. They're not there to sell anything today. Not a bit of it! But they are there to sell a great deal tomorrow because Canada is coming out of this war with a shipbuilding industry, a chemical industry and many other industries against which Britain is going to have to compete.

Do you blame the Englishman for a bit of wonder when he realizes that in some instances these very industries in the Dominions, against which he is to compete, were established early in the war with the aid of British capital? With the aid of British patents and trade secrets! Yes, and often with British management and British foremen!

This recently developed and thoroughly international outlook is not confined to Canada alone. The other Dominions, Australia, New Zealand and even India, are looking longingly at world trade. They do not intend to permit the full employment of war years to slip back to partial and spasmodic employment of pre-war times.

Up to now I have not mentioned the home-front problems in Britain. Most of these are not essentially problems created by the war, although it has accentuated them and their solution must now be found.

Britain, in common with all countries, sees ahead a mild or severe case of social unrest. And this uneasiness is the more acute in Britain because the people there have experienced more disastrous effects from depression than ever did Canada or the United States. Remember the "dole" years and the "doleful years" of the thirties? They are very fresh in the minds of every working man in Britain.

The people want to see some way around the condition which forced willing and skilful workers onto relief rolls. They must solve this and at the same time avoid putting themselves in a non-competitive position with the rest of the world in the cost of production. If their cost of manufacturing is too high they cannot compete in the world markets and secure the vitally needed export business.

That the Britisher realizes there must be a levelling-off in the material and intellectual position of all classes is very evident. One minor, yet revealing, instance of this awareness is shown by the recent announcement that the famous and exclusive seats of learning like Eton, Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge are going to be open to all classes. Lack of means or accident of birth will no longer bar any youth from a good education.

All that is helpful. But once more we have the contradiction. For, in the opinion of one well-informed man I met, legislation and rules for the betterment of the lower classes do not as easily solve the problem in England as they might be expected to do in Canada or in the United States. The reason is the existence in England of a mental attitude antagonistic to the levelling of social barriers. It cuts across the community. It is evident in the upper classes and just as evident in the lower classes. You see it in the little Cockney, in his cap and with his white handkerchief knotted around his neck, who feels uncomfortable when you enter the public bar where he likes to chat and play darts with his cronies. He is polite. He calls you "guvnor" or "sir" but he is uncomfortable and would really prefer that you knew your station and went into the saloon bar and left him and his mates alone.

You see, in Europe five hundred years is not considered a long time. So the class consciousness of those other days, which our forefathers outdistanced when they came to new lands, doesn't seem at all out of place in England. For instance, I gained the impression, from the way some people spoke, that the Battle of Bannockburn just happened yesterday. Scotsmen still talk about it. And the Divine Right of Kings still has its adherents despite the fact that the doctrine has been discarded by parliament for some hundreds of years.

In effect there are still some unenlightened individuals about who believe one class is born to lead and another class is born to carry the hod. And this belief is to some extent held by the top and bottom people alike. So often you ask a cobbler why he is a cobbler. The answer is that his father was a cobbler. And if you ask why his father was a cobbler the answer is "because my father was one."

All this—at least to my friend—proves that besides progressive legislation to help the lower classes there must be a program of re-education to show them that initiative and ambition and energy are still the prime ingredients of success.

To my mind it would seem that, where in Canada we look for a fast lifting of any wartime controls and restrictions, they may have their place for some time to come in Britain. But it is only for this reason: if these people, any of them, feel that they are definitely born to a station and cannot rise, then, until that feeling has been eradicated, they must have somebody protecting them—even if it does mean governmental paternalism.

Against that you find in some circles in England a fear that any great extension of governmental paternalism will more deeply imbue those people at the bottom of the ladder with a feeling that they have no chance in this world and they will then be content to go on living as wards of the state.

It does strike me that there is more than one way in which Canada and the wealthy nations can help Britain in her fight for survival. One, as I mentioned, is the continuance of what we now call mutual aid. But, to me, that does not seem the best solution of the problem of our giving aid. Doesn't emigration from the old land to the new offer an even better way?

Now, I know that when the word "immigration" is mentioned in some circles there is an immediate resistance. That is understandable if one still thinks of immigration as an invasion of our shores by hordes of illiterate and undesirable people from southern Europe. The kind of immigration I am talking about is selective immigration. Not only should we choose people who will make fine Canadians but we should choose people with the skills and knowledge this country needs. The setting up of a policy of planned immigration is not going to be easy, but it can be done. We would benefit in many ways by receiving some of Britain's advertising men, newspaper men, textile workers, teachers, doctors, and other people with th unexcelled training that British education gives in such large measure.

While we would definitely be helping ourselves in receiving such Britons we would also be easing the burden on the Motherland's internal economy. Great Britain is overcrowded; we are not!

When we read the industrial history of the United States we see that our neighbor achieved its greatest growth when it had unlimited immigration. As I said, I am not advocating such an open policy as that, but the fact remains that Canada will not reach the fulness of its growth until it has *quantity with quality* in its population.

I realize that any large policy of immigration will not be easy to put into effect. To begin with the British Government does not want it. Mr. Brendan Bracken told me very definitely that they must keep their own people in the British Isles to aid in reconstruction. Furthermore the British people themselves are not too keen about leaving the old country. Then, we know, of course, that there is considerable opposition to it in Canada, but in my opinion it is essential for both countries and we must work out some plan.

We must keep Canada a British country and, as you are aware, it is now no longer British by the standard that less than 50% of our population is other than of British descent. An influx of British immigration to Canada will fashion a stronger bond between us than all the trade treaties, preferential tariff plans cr other schemes developed in the legislative halls.

Remember that we in Canada could well double our population and still not fill all the good parts of this Dominion. As I see it if we can double our population we will double the opportunities in this country, and there will be double the number of jobs available with, of course, double the number of workmen. However, much of our overhead in the form of government costs, railroad expenses and many of our improvements such as roads in the older parts of our country, would now serve a much larger population. In those important respects we would be much better off. And with double the population we would be at least twice as important in world affairs.

I feel most strongly that we, as Canadians, have no moral right—being as few as we are—to hold this great Dominion while across the water people exist on a standard of living so far below our own and in so many cases verging on actual want. So it becomes, to my mind, as broad as it is long, from the standpoint of the Briton. Either we help him at home or we help him here by bringing him to Canada. But the important thing to remember is that we, as Canadians, have more to gain if we help him to help himself and ourselves by bringing him to our land.

And now, if there is anything to be gained from this talk, I would want it to be a better understanding of the dark days that face Britain in the post-war years. That, and a feeling of responsibility on the part of Canadians for the future of Britain!

We'll have that feeling of responsibility if we keep firmly in our minds two big facts; first, let's not forget the help we in this country received from Great Britain in our early and turbulent years and, second, let's never, never, forget that Great Britain, alone amongst the United Nations, was battered and blasted unmercifully, yet never once grew too weary to fight on to victory.

"THE UNFINISHED TASK"

AN ADDRESS BY

RALPH W. CARNEY.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, April 19, 1945

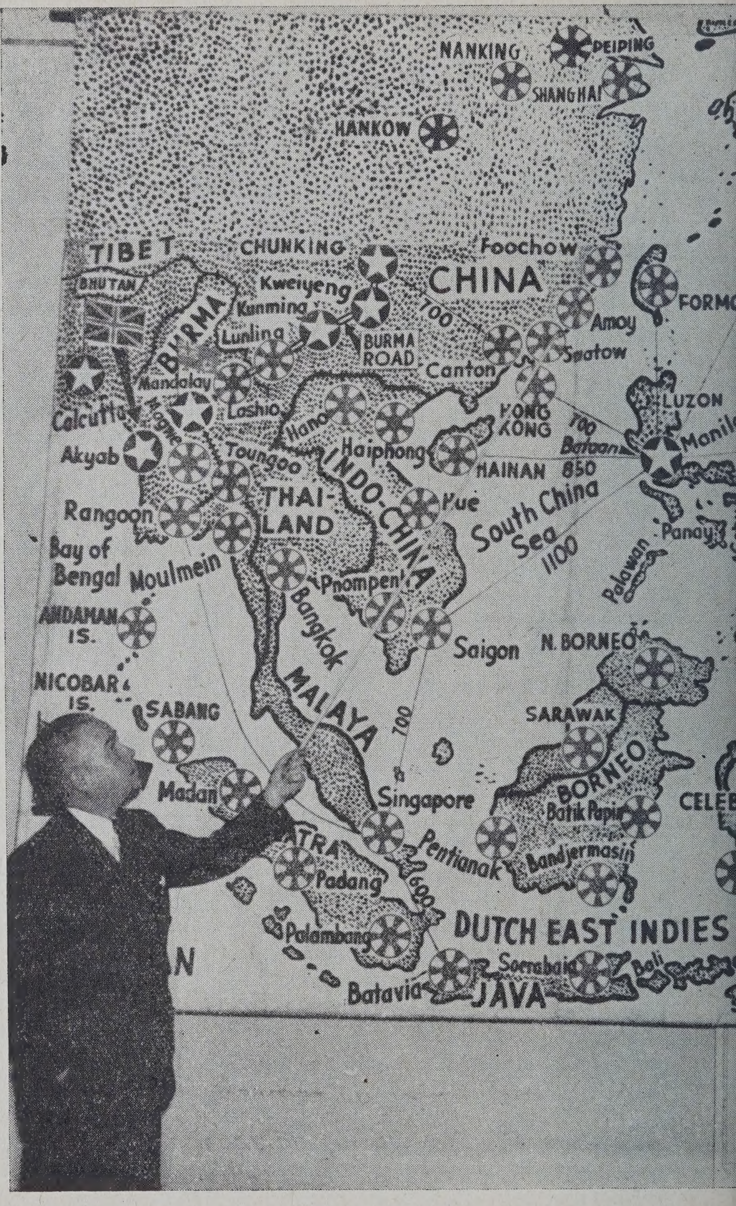
MR. CONQUERGOOD: The Empire Club is privileged today to have as its guest speaker, Mr. Ralph Carney, who is with us for the third time.

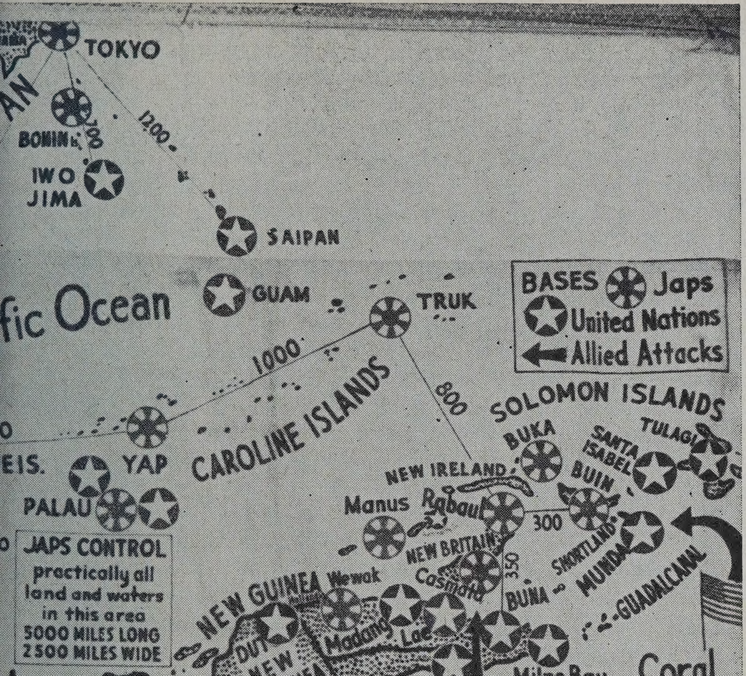
His first visit was in May of 1943 when he spoke to us on "The Strength and Threat of Japan", and concluded with an incomparable tribute to the British Empire. That message is still fresh in our minds. In the following November, he addressed us on "A Business Man Speaks Up". On the present visit to Canada, as on the last, he will devote a generous share of his time and talent to assist in the campaign for the coming Victory Loan which opens next week.

Mr. Ralph W. Carney hails from Wichita, Kansas, where he is Vice-President in charge of sales of the Coleman Lamp and Stove Co. He comes to us through the courtesy of the Coleman Lamp and Stove Co. of Canada. He is a business man who is patriotically devoting more of his time to the promotion of the war effort and the interests of the country at large, than he is to the furtherance of the direct affairs of his firm.

I have much pleasure in welcoming him back to The Empire Club and requesting that he now address us on "The Unfinished Task".

MR. CARNEY: If it seems strange to any of you, that an American stands here instead of one of your own people, please do not wonder at it. It is not that your Finance Committee could not have found many more


NANKING
PEIPING
SHANGHAI
HANKOW
TIBET
CHUNKING
Foochow
CHINA
BHUTAN
BURMA
Kweiyeng
Kunming
700
Lunling
BURMA ROAD
Amoy
Swatow
FORMO
Canton
Mandalay
Lashio
Calcutta
Hanoi
Haiphong
HONG KONG
700
Bataan
850
LUZON
Manil
Akyab
Toungoo
INDO-CHINA
HAINAN
THAI-LAND
Hue
South China Sea
1100
Rangoon
Bay of Bengal
Moulmein
Phompenh
Panay
Palawan
ANDAMAN IS.
Bangkok
Saigon
N. BORNEO
NICOBAR IS.
MALAYA
SABANG
SARAWAK
700
BORNEO
Madan
Singapore
CELE
Batik Papin
TRA
Pentianak
Bandjermasin
Padang
600
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Palambang
Sorrabaia
Bali
N
Batavia
JAVA


TOKYO
AN
BONIN Is.
700
1200
IWO JIMA
SAIPAN
GUAM
TRUK
fic Ocean
BASES Japs
United Nations
Allied Attacks
1000
800
CAROLINE ISLANDS
SOLOMON ISLANDS
0
EIS.
YAP
PALAU
BUKA
TULAGI
SANTA ISABEL
BUIN
NEW IRELAND
Manus
Rabaul
300
NEW BRITAIN
SHORTLAND
MUNDA
GUADALCANAL
Cosmata
350
0
JAPS CONTROL
practically all
land and waters
in this area
5000 MILES LONG
2500 MILES WIDE
NEW GUINEA
Wewak
BUNA
DUTCH NEW GUINEA
Madang
Lae
Milne Bay
Coral Sea
Port Moresby
Kai
CERAM
Aroe
AMBOINA
Arafura Sea
Tanimbar
Cooktown
Dili
Townsville
500
TIMOR
Darwin
AUSTRALIA
Koepang
Birdum
MILES
0
400
To Melbourne
1800 miles
mor Sea

appealing and eloquent voices and men of far greater stature, in every way, in your own beloved Dominion, than the American business man who stands before you now.

It is not that you *needed me* for anything *I* might say. It is rather that you have given to me the honor and privilege of helping in this Campaign. I am the beneficiary of your kindness and indulgence.

The reason for it, therefore, more than any need for my services, is merely that it exemplifies this union of English-speaking peoples, the community of interests, and the singleness of purpose of the American people, Canadians, and of the entire Empire.

In this gigantic enterprise to which we have each set our hand and pledged our fidelity, from that moment when the Empire held its breath and Mr. Churchill's "blood, and sweat, and tears"—words which will live forever in the minds of free men—revitalized a stricken Britain; to Pearl Harbor Day; through all of the tremendous effort with men and materials that my country has made and, to this very moment, there has been no division of interests, no separate selfishness.

I therefore stand here merely as a symbol of the unity of two great allies.

In November of 1943, I was here helping on your Fifth Victory Loan. At *that* time, when Germany was still strong and long before the invasion of Europe; in fact, when the success of that invasion was still clouded with doubt and uncertainty; when Americans were deluding themselves with unjustified optimism because we were sinking a few Japanese ships and knocking some of their planes out of the sky; in fact, at a time when the United States had merely stopped *losing* the war with Japan, and when your interests were centered in Europe because it was the Nazi Army and Idea that had constituted the greatest threat to your homeland, I was calling attention then to the strength of the Japanese Empire and the tremendous problems, in terms of supply, and distances, and time, and of cost of defeating an even greater enemy to civilization than Germany, many people thought that I was unduly pessimistic.

Even a well-informed representative of the Chinese Government took sharp issue with my belief that the war with Japan would last not less, and probably more than five years. In the columns of an Ottawa paper, this noted Chinese said that China was growing in strength, would be able to defend herself and, as I remember it, that the war with Japan would be over and ended before 1945.

Today, you see China cut in two and infinitely weaker; the Chinese divided among themselves and millions of their people starving. We have lost most of our air bases in China and have, in fact, been driven back almost to Chungking. Any idea we might have had that we could use Chinese manpower and merely supply them with weapons, now seems a forlorn hope.

When I was with you before, I said that it would very likely be the sum total of eight years of war for you, from the beginning in Germany, to the defeat of Japan.

Well, the man who says, "I told you so", is usually not very well liked, but I am going to risk that in order to give strength to what I want to say and so that you may not disbelieve me twice. The fact *is,* that you are *in* your sixth year of war and this coming fall will begin your *seventh* year and the beginning of the fifth year for the United States. And, this time, if we have ever been justified in the feeling that the struggle in Europe is coming to an end, we can think that now, and believe together, that the beginning of your seventh year of war and the beginning of the fifth year for the United States, will see Germany completely defeated—but *we will not see Japan defeated.*

It is not forgotten that Malaya and Singapore are British! The crime of Hong Kong must not go unpunished! The safety of India is just as important to you and to the Empire as Hawaii and the Philippines are to the United States!

The independence and freedom of China is our common problem and not altogether an altruistic one, but a realistic one, having to do with the safety of *our* future generations because, if Japan were permitted to thoroughly establish herself in China and hold what she now has there, with manpower resources and materials there available, would give her such strength that we might *not* defeat her in another war; at least, we can not afford another competition in blood-letting, against an enemy that seems not to care how much of its own blood it spills.

Certainly, another war would be thrust upon us and we would be committing the same grave error in the Pacific as we did 25 years ago in Europe, in letting the Armistice bring *that* war to an end, with the German Army and the German weapon-producing capacities still intact. Mistakes like that must not be repeated.

My great fear has been that this "V-Day"—the upraised signal of which your own Winston Churchill has made so famous—that day, to which we have looked forward with eagerness and in tears, and in prayer, will be perhaps the most dangerous day of this war for both of our countries. And you ask how that can be?

You know as well as I do, what will happen when the German Army surrenders. The headlines of the newspapers will say, "THE WAR IS OVER!" Those of you who have felt that Germany was your "No. 1" enemy, will feel that the war *is* over. Many of your relatives and friends in the Old Country, in the British Isles, who have lived only a few miles separated from the enemy and, under the horror of German air raids, and, who have felt, naturally close to and suffering from the Nazi enemy and, at the same time, quite remote from the Japanese enemy, will also feel that the war is over.

Ticker tape and confetti will fly through the air. Great uncontrolled celebrations will be held. War production will come to a stop. Liquor will flow and there will be millions of "hang-overs" the next day. We'll be happy. Many will be hysterical, because Hitler and his Gang have been destroyed; because a strong, and determined, and a skillful enemy has been beaten, and that happiness and relief will find its natural outlet .

And yet, the war will *not* be over. The dead and the raped and tortured of Hong Kong and Singapore and Manilla and the Dutch East Indies will not have been revenged. Freedom will not have been secured. Only one door to brutal aggression will have been closed. So, I appeal to you today for the *Unfinished Task,* and, it must be paid for.

Destroying Germany is like killing a slavering mad-dog, leaping at your throat, then feeling that the job is done, while a slant-eyed jungle tiger is clawing at your back.

Now, certainly in this Bond Campaign, it should not be necessary to make the usual type of an appeal. No one need remind you that a bond purchase is not a gift, nor is it a sacrifice in any way whatsoever. It is a gilt-edged investment in an interest-bearing security, with the total resources and physical assets, every mine, machine, building and business of the Dominion, and the honor of the Canadian Public behind it.

With this money that you now lend—and, it therefore serves a double purpose; it *buys twice*—you will own in the postwar period better things than you have ever possessed. You will have nicer cars, better homes, improved heating, mechanical refrigeration, radios, television, vacation trips, and all of those things dear to our hearts in peace-time and that bring convenience, happiness, comfort and better health.

I do not have to recite to you any further story of bloodshed and sacrifice on all of the battle fronts of the world because our sons are paying that price, not only in daily and continued hardship, and lonesomeness, and disease, interruption of education and interference with careers, but in unbearable physical pain and their life's blood.

That, we *all know*, and the lengthening casualty lists retell it to us every day. Not only that, but the grief in broken homes demands that we buy an end to this conflict, if only *one day sooner,* and to freely trade dollars for the lives of our sons.

Dollars for Sons! The greatest bargain in the history of the world!—and I said that to you once before.

I need not tell you that war is the greatest destroyer that the minds of evil men can conceive; that the progress of a generation can be wiped out in a few years of it; that food, ammunition, clothes, medicine, must be furnished in enormous quantities, and on time! If it takes every dollar of our income, right down to the barest necessities and, we haven't come close to that yet, what right have we to complain?

Why should there be one standard of living for a soldier in danger and a better standard for a civilian in safety? The soldier lives a life of bare necessity and he gets back nothing. Those who have given their lives get back not one single, sweet hour of it, as you get back every dollar and more. Certainly, no commonplace indulgence in what we term "oratory" would be needed or be even in good taste on this occasion.

What, then, is my appeal to a people who have heard every conceivable reason reported over and over? It is simply now, to complete an *Unfinished Task.* My fear is that many millions of our people—yours and mine—will regard the job as done and finished, before it is done!

Behind me, on this map, is the irrefutable evidence of an unfinished task, *so* gigantic in scope, and still pregnant with doubt and uncertainty because we have not yet begun to destroy the well-trained, first-line Japanese Army of approximately five million troops and still more millions in reserve.

Therefore, I have talked to you up to now, and will, for the next few minutes, as a Business Man should talk —in plain terms of facts and of objectives that admit of no compromise and no lessening of effort and expense.

Consider this with me now! From the very first, we have under-rated Japan, and we are still making this same mistake. We are pleased and even excited by the progress of the British Campaign in Burma, the opening of a new Ledo Road, partial reopening of the Burma Road, and the recapture of Manila.

Americans give their prayers for, and their heartfelt thanks to MacArthur, in his return to the Philippines; a job, by the way, in itself, not yet finished, although begun October 20, six months ago. We are very proud of Admiral Nimitz, the American Fleet, and the giant armadas of B-29's made, incidentally, in my own home town—that awesome, majestic Queen of the Sky, that is dealing systematic destruction to the cities of Japan.

We are equally proud of the contribution of the Australians in New Guinea, a brave group of men sometimes forgotten in this conflict. Together, you and we, have swept the ocean fairly clean of the Japanese Navy and driven the Air Force to cover on Formosa and the Japanese homeland and Asia.

All of those things are fine and hopeful and in the right direction, but we over-rate them in terms of the job yet to be done. We over-rate our own blows. We consistently over-rate the still remaining strength of Japan, 90% of whose army is still intact. We have, in fact, not yet even faced their first-line army.

We didn't believe, because we didn't *want* to believe, that Japan would take the Philippines and I can remember when Bataan and Corregidor were hailed as the impregnable Gibraltars and Maltas of the Pacific, but they did! We didn't believe that Japan would take Singapore, the world's greatest fortress on which the British have spent $400,000,000 to fortify and thought no combination of hostile forces could take it, but *they did take it*—and quickly and easily, too. What a shock it was to the whole Empire—in the sinking of the Repulse and the Prince of Wales—that you could no longer depend upon naval power! We didn't believe they would overwhelm Burma, or that anyone, for that matter, could fight through those jungles, but they did do it.

We didn't believe that they would fan out over an enormous empire, 5,000 x 6,000 land and water miles, only fragments of which have been recovered—but they did do it—in just *four months* and have held it now for three and one-half years.

Every Japanese flag on this map identifies a strong and a known naval or air base. There may be many more that we do not know about because the Japanese have been fighting for preparation time, and hence, willing to lose men and ships and planes. In these three and one-half years, those busy little rats have had plenty of time to organize tricky and intricate defenses, as they did at Tarawa and Saipan, Kwajelein, and Iwo Jima, taking a definite and fearful toll of American lives, each one more disastrous than Dieppe, for a greater number of course of Japanese lives but, lives they are willing to spend, as we spend dollars.

The Japanese have not yet been driven even from their island Empire. The proceeds of their banditry have not yet been recovered. They have been weakened. They have been by-passed. In many cases, they can not be supplied or reinforced, but they are still there. And, that deadly, sinister pattern which began to unfold itself on the occasion of our first contact on the Island of Attu, where 1,900 Japanese soldiers were killed, none wounded, and only 20, prisoners; that "battle to the death", where they do not surrender, they do not give up, even in the face of inevitable defeat and destruction—you have to kill every one of them, as you would so many wild beasts—the pattern which began at Attu and has continued until Iwo Jima, where over 20,000 Japanese soldiers were killed, sees less than 50 taken prisoners, against a casualty total of 20,000 American Marines.

There has never been a war fought where such a psychology entered into the conflict. Never! It has not been true in Europe. It upsets all normal calculations of manpower losses and material usages.

800,000 to 900,000 Japanese soldiers, they say, have been killed and we do not have 5,000 Japanese in prison camps in the same length of time in which one and one-half million German soldiers have been captured because they found it no longer of any use to fight. Incidentally, lest we get too excited over the 800,000 or 900,000 Japanese dead and regard it as a conclusive achievement, let me remind you in that same period of time, one and one-half million Japanese have come of military age.

Where we have put 8 or 9 under the sod, 15 new ones (nearly twice as many) have sprung up, and they too, must be killed.

How many years will that take? The Japanese have not yet gone below 20 years of age for army recruits and in the United States, at least for a year, we have been down among the 18-year-olds.

At the present rate of destruction of Japanese lives as against the Japanese birth rate and normal progress year-by-year into military age—an endless chain belt of Japanese boys, bred for war—we would have to kill them at the ratio accomplished up to now, and do it steadily and every day for more than ten years, before it had any appreciable effect on Japanese manpower.

As a matter of fact, General Homma told Clark Lee, the Associated Press correspondent, that they were willing to spend ten million lives in the Japanese War with the Allies and then he asked a rather pungent question, "How many lives are *you* willing to lose?"

Maybe some change will take place in their psychology. Maybe some political upheaval will occur. Maybe they will put on the false face of Peace and try to salvage something out of inevitable defeat—but also, maybe they will not.

It isn't enough, therefore, just to destroy their manpower, because that would take too long and require too much of our own beloved manpower in return. Our only hope is to destroy their productive resources and their means of making weapons, any kind of weapons. Well, that takes ships and planes and rockets and bombs, all bought with your bond dollars.

Now, those are facts, not pleasant, but we must face them and they should serve to temper this wholly unjustified feeling that a few months after Germany is out of the war, the combined power of the British and American Fleets will defeat Japan.

I was talking to an important group of business executives a while ago in Seattle. Governor Langlie sat on one side, Rear Admiral Wood, recently returned from Guadalcanal, on the other; across from me a Brigadier-General, who had been at Tarawa.

I was complimenting Admiral Wood on the job the American Navy and her submarines had done in whittling down the Japanese Navy and the great destruction of her merchant fleet—a natural thing for me to do. I was surprised to hear a grizzled Navy man, steeped in the traditions of the Navy, say to me:

> "Mr. Carney, our Navy will not win this war no matter how many ships you launch. Air fleets will not win the war if you blacken the sky with planes. We have had control of the air over China almost since the beginning and have steadily lost—lost both ground and our carefully and laboriously prepared bases. The war will be won only when a man with a bayonet stands in the enemy's backyard and tells him what to do; when the Infantry land, occupy and hold it."

Admiral Nimitz says:

> "We are under no illusion about this opposition. We know that our ships and planes alone can not destroy this enemy. The Jap has dug himself in. We must land, wherever he is, and dig him out."

Well, I'm just a civilian. You might give scanty heed to my opinions because it would seem that I was just another "arm-chair strategist" popping off. You should give respect to the men I have just quoted.

"We must land wherever he is and dig him out"—so, let's see where the Japanese soldier is! Many people think we have driven them from the Solomons. They are still there! They are still at Bougainville, the scene of one of our earliest island battles. We have occupied and kept a beach-head only 8 x 32 miles. The Japs have the rest of the island. American troops and the Marines landed at the tip end of New Britain about a year and a half ago at Arawe. The Japs have the rest of that island. They still have their base at Kavieng, Buin, Buka. They are still at Rabaul and at Truk. Weakened, of course, but this popular idea that they are going to "die on the vine" is not literally true. They have ammunition, food, and eventually they will have to be routed out of their caves and killed like rats. That takes materials, ammunitions, that your bonds will pay for.

They are still in some of the Palau Islands and at Yap; 45,000 Jap soldiers at Wewak on New Guinea, three years after the beginning of our campaign for that island. Notice that, you short-war guessers—three years—and not all of New Guinea recovered.

They still have the whole of the Dutch East Indies. Java, itself, will mean a substantial land campaign. They have not yet been driven from the Philippines, nor from Burma. In this empire, they have a fourth of all the material wealth of the world and I do not mean money. I mean *wealth!* Iron ore and coal in North China, all that Japan could ever use, if we give her the thing she has been fighting for—*Time*—to use it.

They do not have our industrial and productive resources but neither do they have to fight the war and carry their men and materials 7,000 miles away.

Then, too, every time we make a landing on an island, part of our strength, like water, soaking into a blotter, is absorbed in the men and materials that must be left there. Fifteen men are now required to keep one front-line soldier fighting.

In this area, they have a controlled manpower of 400,000 people. To give you an idea of manpower, we have thought of Java, at least in my country, as a cup of coffee. Let's look at the *real* Java. Here it is, a little island about the size and shape of Long Island, perhaps somewhat larger, and you could double it up and "stuff it" into about half of a Canadian Province.

On that island, there are four times as many people as in the entire Dominion of Canada! Forty-five to fifty million people—821 per square mile! Those young native Japanese, who were 12 to 14 years of age at Pearl Harbour Day, who have never heard of the Four Freedoms or the Atlantic Charter, can become, and many of them have already become, part of the Japanese military manpower, being drilled and organized under the leadership of the Japanese officers, and *they* must be *killed.*

Since Japan controls the distribution of food, they will fight as men have always fought—to fill their stomachs! It's fine to talk about freeing Korea—in the meantime, there are 300,000 Koreans in the Japanese Army and they must be killed. Wherever you see the Japanese flag on this map, it must be eventually replaced with the star of the United Nations—and what a job that will be.

Consider these plain facts. It took two million tons of shipping to place 30,000 men only, on the Marshall Islands. Two million tons! That was not the supplies—just the ship tonnage!

It requires ten tons of supplies per man, per month, a great percentage of it gasoline, to sustain a fighting force in that area. Ten tons per man per month! To land a million men on the Chinese Coast, as Admiral Nimitz says, must be done; to begin the destruction of the Japanese Army, fighting as they will be, over terrain familiar to them and over which they have been practicing for years, would require ten million tons per month of supplies, plus the ship tonnage to carry it, and that, if there be *no* destruction by Japanese land-based bombers.

We do not know what damage will be inflicted by the Japanese Air Force but some, of course, and it's certain that their monthly production of planes exceeds our monthly destruction because their production goes on every day, and our destruction comes intermittently.

It may require the total combined strength of the American and British Forces, Navies, Land and Air Forces, and your dollars, and maybe the help of Russia; not just to defeat—that's the main point, not to defeat as we have done the German Army in Europe—but to *destroy,* completely destroy, the Japanese Army in Asia and their military might in their own homeland.

Bitter and expensive and long-protracted as the war in Europe has been, six years of it, at least there we had the full power of the Red Army and the convenience of the British Isles as a natural base and a take-off for planes and invasion forces.

No one can know for sure, but it may easily be true and, if so, we had better set ourselves for it, that the war in Europe is just the preliminary bout—at least for you in Canada and we, in the United States—and that the main bout, in terms of time and cost, will be in the Pacific. At least we can not afford to take chances. I submit to you that every short-war guesser up to now has been wrong.

Your own General Alexander was wrong, and with some chagrin, admitted it! General Montgomery was wrong. General Eisenhower was wrong. General Marshall was wrong. Our own Admiral Halsey got "out on a limb", when he prophesied that Japan would be defeated at the end of 1943. Even Mr. Churchill, who has been "righter" than most and less inclined to let temporary victory affect him, at one time placed 1945 as the last conceivable period of time in which the war could continue.

Now, we are in the middle of 1945, with only the European end in sight.

Since the short-war guessers have been wrong, it may be that the long-war guessers *could be* right. At least it is better sense, since we have been wrong up to now, to assume that it be long, and by putting forth every conceivable effort and the investment of every dollar, shorten it, by so much as *one* day, than to assume that it be short, or still worse, assume that it is *over,* when Germany is finished, and, through the inevitable relaxation, thus prolong it.

Maybe Russia *will* come into the war—it looks like it now—and have the same effective power against Japan that they have had against Germany, but we do not *know* this and if they do, we may *need* all the help Russia can give. They are more vulnerable in Siberia, with only two railroad lines to carry men and supplies.

Maybe the Islands of Japan will be overwhelmed with some earthquake disaster but we can not depend upon any such act of Nature.

The 90% of the Japanese Empire that has been bypassed must be swept clean. We must "land, and occupy, and hold". Then, in China and in the Japanese homeland, destroy a fanatically brave and, as yet, an untouched Army that will fight until the last man is dead, if they follow the pattern that has been set up to now.

THAT IS THE UNFINISHED TASK! What it will take and how long, no one knows, but every dollar in this campaign and more to follow. Stopping short, not of a Japanese defeat—again, I emphasize that—but of Japanese military destruction, will just invite another war for our next generation.

We are at a point where even more than the ordinary demands of war are required of us—not more bravery, because our sons have filled the cup of sacrifice full with their courage—not, necessarily, better weapons, because on the whole, we have had the world's best—not just the will to win, although the desire to win quickly should be intensified as our losses increase—over 1,000,000 casualties for the British Empire and nearly 1,000,000 casualties for the United States alone, even though our wartime period be little more than half as much.

We are at a point now where war exhaustion is making itself felt; when we're tired of sacrifice and grief and pain; tired of the daily breaking of hearts as the casualty notices come in; at a point where Japan has craftily figured we would be—tired in nerves and mind and body and depleted in resources, to a point where they figure we would be willing to end this war on a negotiated basis short of the destruction of their military power. Even the Mad Man of Europe stimulates his people to fanatic defense in the hope, he says, that we may "become tired".

We are like a runner who has reached the point of physical pain, where he needs his "second wind".

It is when we reach a point where we feel we can endure no more that the winner of a struggle like this is determined. The hand of the fighter, who stands on his feet at the end of a fight even though he is spent, is lifted in victory.

Therefore, we need to draw upon *all* of our resources and one of those is unbeatable faith!

On the front of the mantle in your famous Hind's Head Hotel at Bray, England, there is a well-known inscription:

> "Fear knocked at the door. Faith answered.
> No one was there."

That sort of faith is required of us now.

And finally, many times, the determining factor between two antagonists, two conflicting business interests, the difference in the career of two men—one a failure, the other a success, and yet with many qualities of equal value, is the deciding one, namely, THE POWER TO FOLLOW THROUGH! This is the sort of thing that carries an exhausted runner across the finish line, when all physical strength has left and endurance has been exhausted.

In a similar, perhaps an even greater crisis, in the life of an ancient people, the prophet Isaiah pretty well tells the story of this whole war, in just three verses:

> "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength."

Well, there was that period in Britain's war experience where they were well-nigh defenseless, exhausted upon the sands of Dunkirk, and almost perishing under the German Blitz, but God gave power (what else *could* it have been, if there be any who scoff?)—God gave power to that valiant British Air Force and he gave increased strength when the British people, stripped of weapons, had no might.

The next verse:

> "Even the youths shall faint and be weary,
> and the young men shall utterly fall."

That's what happened in Germany and will in Japan. The Nazi youth, their young men so filled with brutal and arrogant pride and the Nazi doctrine of the "Superman", have fainted, and Japanese young men shall utterly fall, even their ten million.

The third, and climactic verse—and its meaning surcharges the atmosphere here today:

> "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint."

Discourage an enemy and you partially defeat him. Let us discourage Japan, and, by a quick raising of the money in both of our bond campaigns, serve notice that whatever it takes, *that, we have!*

And I offer to you in closing, words that should ring in your ears and find a resting place in your heart, as so many of Mr. Churchill's have in ours; words of a man of whom all America is proud—General MacArthur—who, after his landing in Manila, said this:

"We do not count anything done as long as anything remains to be done." Behind me, on this map, there is a picture of what remains to be done. Do not buy bonds, I beg of you, that you can comfortably buy or invest money that you can reasonably spare. Do not let our sons put us to shame. They offer, and give not a part, but *all* they have. Shall we do less? Only, in this case, we do not give —we merely *lend*. But *let* us lend every dollar, down to our barest living need and do it not only for our own selfish interests, for the safety and welfare of our generation, but do it so that this complete destruction of German and Japanese military mania and their fearful punishment, stand as a warning signal to all generations to come; so that mankind and nations may learn to live together in friendship and that, this time, truly, we may have Peace; turning to and accepting in our hearts the words and the example of the Prince of Peace.

And pray God, that the Sign of the Cross shall banish the use of the sword and that your own great Empire, and my country, standing together as friends and comrades, shine with increased glory among the nations of the world.

"THE FIGHTING IN BURMA"

AN ADDRESS BY

MAJOR A. W. INNES, M.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, April 26, 1945

MR. CONQUERGOOD: Before introducing our guest speaker today, I wish to call your attention to the fact that to-day is our Annual Meeting, and will be the last regular meeting of the Club until next season which opens on the first of October. In the meantime, a special meeting may possibly be called to hear an important speaker in which case all members will receive their regular notice.

The addresses which have been heard during the past season will be published in our Year Book as usual, and should be ready for distribution by September.

As President of the Club, I have received during the year a very large number of complimentary comments, especially from those who hear our programs over the radio. The Empire Club extends its thanks to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for carrying these addresses to the larger audience, as a part of their public service program. We especially thank the management and staff of Radio Station CJBC over which our addresses are heard.

We also extend our thanks to the Press for their reports to the reading public, as well as to the management and staff of the Royal York Hotel for their consistently good service under difficult conditions.

Last week, we heard something of the broad picture of the war against Japan. Today, we are to hear a more specialized account of the fighting in Burma. Our guest speaker is Major A. W. Innes, M.C.

Following his graduation from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, England, in 1936, Major Innes joined the regular British Army and early in 1937 proceeded to India where he served for three years. On the outbreak of the war, he saw service on the Northwest Indian Frontier. When war with Japan broke out, he moved to Burma where with his unit, the Lincolnshire Regiment, he took part in the Arakan fighting. In 1944, he was transferred to the British Army staff in Washington. He has come to Toronto today for this meeting.

Major Innes, we welcome you to Canada and to Toronto and to The Empire Club. We trust that you will receive at first hand a favorable impression of our war effort. We can assure you that despite the fact that we are in the early stages of two election campaigns we will not neglect our duty in the Victory Loan campaign, which started this week for the largest objective yet, in Canada.

Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in presenting Major A. W. Innes, M.C., who will address us on "The Fighting in Burma".

MAJOR A. W. INNES: Mr. Conquergood and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: If any of you have come here to listen to a very eloquent speaker, I am afraid you will be disappointed. I don't make a habit of speaking, normally.

I am a very junior officer in the British Army and I am going to give you, if you don't mind, an informal chat about my experiences in Burma and I hope they may be of some use to you in getting an over-all picture of what is going on out there.

Now, I will tell you what I am going to say in brief outline. If anybody gets bored they can walk out. First of all, I am going to give a brief outline of the campaign up to date, just to put you in the picture, and then after that give you some idea of the general conditions in the campaign, the country and how we lived. what the people are like, and so on, and so forth, and finally, finish up with a few personal impressions of the Japanese and a few examples.

Now, you probably all know but I am going to repeat that Burma is the largest battle ground in Asia and there at this moment a large number of Empire troops are fighting. The majority of troops in Burma are Indian—born and bred in India. I think that fact is overlooked rather too often. In addition to Indian troops, you have troops from the United Kingdom, West African troops, and some funny little hill men from the levees and the hills of Burma, very tough and very small, and excellent fighters. Then of course you have troops of the United States Army and the Chinese as well.

Now, why did the Japanese invade Burma? Apart from the fact that Burma was one of their stepping stones in their campaign to conquer the world, they had three very good military reasons. The first was they wanted a strategic shield to cover their Asian conquests. They had been fighting China and they had landed in Siam and they wanted this country of Burma to act as a strategic shield for those already won conquests.

The second reason they wanted to go there was to isolate us from China and to stop the last supplies getting through from India to China over the Burma Road.

Lastly, and probably uppermost in the mind of the war lords of Japan, they wanted a spring-board for their attack on India.

Now, why do we go there to fight the Japs? First of all, naturally, to break down the strategic shield which we are doing now, very successfully. Secondly, to reopen the road to China, and, thirdly, to remove the threat to India.

Now, I will just give you a brief outline of how the campaign shaped from 1942 up to the present day. In 1942, the Japs invaded Burma. They came in from Siam. We were very weak at the time, militarily, in Burma, and we did withdraw right away across Burma, first from east to west, then from south to north, and eventually came out on top. That is from the north-east we withdrew westward, and then a very long and hard withdrawal, and a successful one, if withdrawals could be successful, was carried out by the then General Alexander with his forces across Mandalay and out and up to Imphal.

At that time we were very weak in Burma. We hadn't many forces. The Japanese were at the top of the ladder and they were going full swing, and they pushed us up too fast. That was in 1942.

At the same time the Japanese pushed a number of forces through the bottom of Burma and up to the Arakan, to the west coast of Burma, and eventually at the end of 1942 we managed to stabilize the front, with one front up in Imphal and one down in Arakan.

In 1943, after we had licked our wounds, we started to feel out the Japanese, and see how they would react, in order that at a later date we could get on with it. The fighting, although relatively small compared to fighting in other parts of the world, was hard and consisted of a minor campaign down in Arakan on the west coast, and a particularly successful campaign carried out by the late General Wingate, who as you know penetrated into the very depths of Burma with British and Indian troops and played havoc with the Japanese for several months.

Also in 1943, we started the famous Ledo Road, which was to be, and is now, the road which links India with Chungking. That road starts at the very top of Burma at Ledo, and comes down at Myitkyina and joins the old Burma Road that comes across into China and goes to Chungking.

Now this, I think, is a bit boring but necessary to bring you into the picture.

In 1944 there were really four main thrusts. In February we started off down in the Arakan, determined to push the Japanese out.

Thrust Number 2 was carried out up in the Ledo area in order to push this road down a little further from Ledo. That was done by General Stillwell with Chinese and American forces.

At the same time, to link up eventually with that thrust from Ledo, there was another operation by General Wingate. This time troops were dropped in the very heart of Burma near Mogaung and, eventually, as you know, linked up with General Stillwell.

The fourth thrust came from our Chinese Allies, down from the Yun-Nan border, again pushing into Burma.

So you have: one, in the Arakan; two, the thrust from Ledo; three, in from Yun-Nan, and four, General Wingate's air-borne operation.

That went very nicely in February last year, but all of a sudden the Japs reacted, not unexpectedly. They counter-attacked in force and completely surrounded the Indian Division down in the Arakan. For the first time in Burma fighting, a Division was given the order to stand fast and did so. That order was given by Admiral Mountbatten, and for months the 26th Indian Division fought its way through to the 17th Division down in the Arakan and eventually relieved them.

Now, that counter-thrust by the Japanese was just a forerunner of what was to come and in April of 1944, the Japanese counter-attacked in very great strength under a peculiarly unpleasant little Japanese General up in the Imphal area, and they surrounded and very nearly got to the main railway line which served the Imphal troops and which runs up from India. It was just touch and go. However, larger and stronger forces were brought to bear against the enemy and the Japanese suffered the greatest land defeat which they have ever experienced in this war in the Imphal campaign. Thousands were killed and they were pushed back out of the Imphal area and from that day in April of last year we have not stopped. We have gone right on from Imphal down to the Chindwin River. We pushed them across the river and we pushed them out of all the places they held there, pushed them down past Mandalay, down near Irrawaddy River, and as you know, yesterday we captured the oil fields at Yenang-yaung and Magwe.

Now, all that happened between 1942 and the present day. It is a long time and it didn't happen so easily as it sounds. It entailed a lot of hard fighting and the most difficult part of all was suddenly finding ourselves having to campaign in jungle country where the British Army had never had to fight. We had to adapt ourselves to entirely different conditions, so now I am going to give you a few ideas of what it is like fighting in Burma.

In Burma you have two very definite seasons. There is the dry season and the monsoon season. In the dry season it doesn't rain; in the monsoon, it doesn't stop raining. This rain you have here to-day is nothing like it, really. You get 150 to 200 inches of rain in five months. That means you are completely swamped. All the paddy and rice fields are under water. You virtually can't move. You can move on foot but you can't move vehicles.

Now, I want to describe how we were supplied. I think a lot of people have the idea that Burma is a hundred per cent jungle. That is a misconception. A large part of it does consist of jungle, admittedly. But there is in the center of Burma a dry plateau around Mandalay which is extremely good for farming and where there is no jungle you have your cultivated paddy fields, rice fields, where the population carry out their main occupation of growing rice.

A lot of Burmese mountains go up 8,000 or 9,000 feet. The main mountain range runs along the border, and that is the natural border of Burma. They are high mountains and very, very thick jungle, so think that in primary jungle—that is a jungle that hasn't been cut before—you probably can't see more than fifteen to twenty yards. And of course another thing about Burma is that there are very, very few roads; they are mainly waterways.

So we had to adapt ourselves to that type of country. If you can imagine the type, coupled with the seasons, you can understand that it wasn't over pleasant, although I should like to say that I think the unpleasantness of Burma has been over-rated tremendously. That is my own personal view. Fighting in this war is not pleasant at any time and I don't think that fighting in Burma is any more unpleasant than having to sit under a 500-gun German artillery barrage. It is much the same thing

Now, how do we live and fight? You remember the troops had never fought in the jungle, but they soon became adaptable in living down there. We had to find ourselves shelter in the monsoons and we very soon learned from the Burmese how to wield the bamboo. You can do anything with a bamboo. You can make a bed with it, you can make a roof with it, a fork or a knife, or a spoon out of it, you can get water out of it, you can drink out of it and you can cook with it. One thing you can't do is eat it, though you can eat bamboo shoots and we got fairly good at times at doing that.

The jungle was, to start off with, frightening. A lot of noises go on in the jungle. You have crickets and a large number of wild animals which make life at times rather unpleasant, particularly down in Arakan. We used to meet a number of elephants which in addition to Japs were not always too pleasant.

We did have one incident in the Indian Battalion next door to us. The usual sentry was on duty one night and he heard a rustle as one frequently did in the jungle. He said, "Halt", and he didn't receive an answer. He said "Halt" again in the approved fashion. Again, no answer, so he fired with his Bren gun, whereupon he was charged by the elephant who had been making the noise. It picked up the Bren gun, threw it away, and the sentry, of course, bolted, very rightly and wisely. It was a bit of a shambles because the Sikh commanding the post saw the sentry running away and unfortunately shot him.

Now these elephants can at times be rather annoying. If I may mention one thing here—we got very good at knowing when elephants were about. Elephants are very kindly gentlemen and they always leave a large amount of manure lying about and we can tell in two seconds whether the elephants have been there. We just looked and if there was elephant manure we knew they were there. If we didn't see it, they had gone on.

You get a large number of reptiles in Burma, some poisonous, some non-poisonous. We only had two fatal casualties from snakes. But they are an annoyance. You never know when a chap is going to step on a snake. You have always got to be prepared and carry extra equipment around.

We had one incident in the middle of battle once. We weren't quite sure where the Japanse were coming from and suddenly we heard an awful rustle in the leaves about us and an enormous python fell off the tree. We gave it two magazines of a tommy-gun and finished it off. It was a long one—I don't know how long but it seemed about fifteen feet.

So much for an idea of what it is like. I forgot to mention that there are mosquitoes there. Malaria in Burma is the biggest cause of casualties. You have got to take the most stringent precautions against malaria. You haven't just got to take these precautions once a week or once a month. You have to take them every day and we have very rigorous malaria discipline. Every night I used to parade sections or platoons or whatever it would be. If they were in fox-holes we used to have a parade that consisted of first of all putting on a beehive net, which they no longer issue, but they looked very like a beehive net hanging over the face. We used to put on long gloves which the army called "gloves mobile, laundry." Then we smeared beauty cream all over our faces and finally took a yellow atabrin tablet. Every man had to do it. If he didn't, he was put on a charge and given seven days C.B., or whatever he got. Also, if he didn't do it, he got malaria.

When you go to Burma down every half mile on any road or camp you see these enormous signs all over the place about malaria and its prevention.

Now, let me give you one or two personal impressions of the Japanese. I am going to speak from a personal point of view. Probably other people met different types. The Japanese, that we saw, were in the majority small ones. They would come about to my shoulder, I think, and I am not very tall. We did meet some out-size Japanese. Some people said they came from Korea. We didn't find out where they came from but they were tall—some of them six feet three or four inches. They wore enormous beards and were very fat.

The Japanese clothing is extremely difficult to see in the jungle and, contrary to the majority of views, the Japanese are extremely well clothed and extremely well equipped. Their clothing was originally designed for the jungle and they know how to do it. They have excellent ground sheets, weighing practically nothing, and all their equipment is very light because they had very little transport in Burma. Everything they carried was on their backs.

The Japanese officer you can always tell because he will always wear a large sword or a sabre, a two-handed weapon, and he wields it extremely well, extremely efficiently. He does use it as a fighting weapon.

When we get back to peace we will go back to wearing swords here on our uniforms, purely as an ornament. The Japanese still uses his sword as a two-handed weapon, and very successfully as well.

Now, the Japanese had a lot of this jungle fighting long before we did and they are very clever at living in the jungle. Whenever they get to a place where they are going to stop two or three hours they appear to dig very quickly. They have very sharp little shovels, about three feet in length, with a razor-edge blade and they can get down pretty smartly into the ground. They dig very deep fox-holes or bunkers, if you like to call them, and I have a healthy respect for Japanese digging.

They feed on practically nothing. That may not be quite true but from what we see they appear to eat practically nothing. For instance, one day we were out on patrol and in a tree we found a dirty old pair of shorts hanging, the legs of which were sewn up and inside was a large amount of rice. This apparently was a week's ration for a Japanese Patrol. Some rice, water and dried fish appeared to be their diet.

Now, you have probably heard a lot about the Japanese fanaticism. It is absolutely true. I think there are a lot of things we don't believe until we meet somebody who has actually seen them and told us about them, then we do believe them. The German atrocities we were inclined to think were propaganda. Now that we have been shown the pictures we believe it. We didn't altogether believe the stories about the Japanese fanaticism when we went into Burma but after seeing it we did. I would like to give one or two examples.

You have heard of the Japanese banzai charge. That consists of a large number of men who come in very close and who seem to have no respect for modern warfare and tactics. The first I remember was one night I suddenly received a message from Brigade Headquarters that about two or three hundred Japanese had been found in a village near us and the Indian Regiment was pushing them one way and we were to take up a position on the opposite side and wait for them to come up, and when they did come—well, we knew what to do with them.

We got in our positions fairly early—about six o'clock in the evening, I suppose—and we heard shooting about 400 yards away. We knew that the Gurkha Rifles were coming toward us, but there was no sign of the Japanese at all until, one of my Platoon Officers came running up and said he had killed a Japanese. To kill a Japanese or to see a Japanese killed individually, is quite a good thing because you can fight for months in the jungle and never see them—and hope they never see us. It is actually amazing. My batman had been out fighting well over a year and honestly I think he only saw about one Japanese.

This Officer had said he had killed a Japanese. We decided to give him five minutes to die. We gave him five minutes to die and went out and had a look at him. We were ten yards from him and this Jap, who was lying down, raised himself up in a sitting position. He took a hand grenade, held it under his chin, and away went his head. He could have been alive today as a prisoner-of-war, but he would rather be dead. That is one example of their fanaticism.

That same day the Japanese gradually started to come out of hiding. Things were quiet until about eight o'clock in the evening and we were thinking that nothing was going to happen. We weren't altogether sorry, but about midnight the shooting started about a hundred yards away from my Company. The Company next door to me were at right angles to us. The shooting got heavier and then it died down. We thought the Japanese were trying to get down. Not a bit of it. About ten minutes later we heard in the silence of the night a number of orders being shouted out in Japanese. They came from a Japanese officer who was lining his men up into formation. We could definitely see them being lined up there about four deep and I suppose there must have been about twenty in each rank —about eighty chaps. It was a fairly bright moon. You could see them moving about. It was ridiculous to shoot. That is exactly what they wanted us to do—they didn't know where we were. We didn't shoot until they came a little nearer—about ten yards or so—and then we opened up. There was a further order from their Officer, a tremendous shout from all the Japanese and they started forward, at a steady trot toward our Company. I don't think they had much ammunition. I could definitely see the Japanese Officers behind the rear ranks, slapping the backs of their men with swords, right and left, and pushing them on. They went through shouting and screaming. When we opened fire we shot down a lot, but of course when you shoot at a range of ten yards some are bound to get through. Some got through and that is all the Japanese cared about. They didn't care a damn about those who got killed. They didn't lose any face by it.

The Japanese are very cunning. We are cunning as well. I would like to mention one or two of their ruses, showing the apparent intelligence of the Japanese. People don't seem to think that he is intelligent, but believe that he is a fathead and has no intelligence at all and he is just told what he is supposed to do. But I remember one particular occasion, when one of my Platoons was cut off from me and the only way to get in touch with them was to shout as loud as I could. We didn't have any signalling equipment, no wireless equipment. I remember shouting, and every time I must have given a dozen orders in English. Every time I shouted to the Platoon Commander I used his name. This had gone on for about a quarter of an hour, actually giving orders for a further attack. Then after a short time a little voice piped up, using the name of the Platoon Commander, "Sergeant Major Boyle, come down here—the Company Commander wants you."

Sergeant-Major Boyle nearly went down. This Japanese was shouting orders in seemingly perfect English, to try to trap Sergeant-Major Boyle into going down. They are taught to speak English phrases and they use them. On several occasions we heard voices down in the jungle, calling out names of regiments and saying they were surrounded and would have to give up—that they couldn't get back. The Japanese were using English and they go in for ruses like that quite a lot.

Of course the Japanese not only uses fireworks now—he used them before the war, apparently. He uses them in great profusion in this war. He has cracker parties. They come up behind you and set off these fireworks and a certain amount of fighting or attack comes from the other direction, to make you think you are surrounded. The Japanese is very clever at this sort of thing.

He uses a Very-light on a pistol. He uses Very-lights in great profusion and especially, so far as we can see, for giving orders. The Japanese generally attack at night. We know what they are doing and when they are attacking we see great sprays of Very-lights—green, red, yellow, all over the place. We think the Japanese are giving orders to each other to say how their plan is going—Alright—Plan starting—Plan gone wrong—or something like that.

Now, how does the Japanese behave when he is captured? You have seen on the newsreels the Japanese giving themselves up. He looks a bit frightened, and so on. You don't get many Japanese prisoners, you get precious few, and I think it is safe to say here that in 1943 an individual used to be given I think it was ten days leave if he captured a Japanese. In my company we only captured two Japanese in two years fighting, and it was quite enough. We would really prefer them dead.

Their behaviour was very extraordinary. This particular gentleman we caught didn't altogether give himself up. He was trying to hide. He had been very badly wounded in the leg. He had made himself a very excellent little pair of crutches out of bamboo. They looked expertly made to me. I nearly pinched them. They brought him into the Company Quarters on a stretcher. I was particularly interested in this individual. First thing, he asked for a cigarette and a cup of tea, then he asked for an orange. I then got out my book of Japanese phrases and asked one or two questions which he answered straight away and gave us all the news we wanted. He spoke the whole time, he never stopped speaking. We couldn't understand half the stuff he was saying, but after he had seen that we weren't rough with him he calmed down and was really quite sensible.

Another thing which I think is worth mentioning is the Japanese respect for the Red Cross. Some people say that the Japanese have no respect for the Red Cross and they cite examples. That is absolutely true. I give you one example and that was in February, 1944, last year, down in Arakan, where the Japanese went straight through a main dressing station with bayonets flying, and finished off the patients in their huts.

An example of the opposite. In another attack we had suffered quite heavy casualties and were going around trying to get the wounded out of the way and we had a Padre, a Roman Catholic, who was only part Padre—he was trying to kill Japanese—and he had a Red Cross on his arm. He got this Jap and just as he was putting a syringe in his arm, somebody about five yards away said, "Go away or I will shoot you." This was a little Japanese and he had been told what the Red Cross meant. He told the Padre to go away and the Padre very wisely went away—he didn't want to be shot.

That is one small example of Japanese respect for the

Red Cross, although in the majority of cases I don't think they do have any.

Now, I could go on giving you numerous examples of one thing and another, but I am trying to give you a cross section of what it is like out in Burma. It is fairly tough out there, but I don't think it is any tougher than any other theatre in this war, except from the point of view of the climate.

There are troops out there that have been fighting for three and a half years in Burma without a rest. When I say without a rest—they have probably had a month's leave in Calcutta or somewhere in India, but there are people who have been there three and a half and four years and who have never been home. I know quite well, speaking for, or I think I might say on behalf of the British soldier fighting in Burma, he definitely intends to stay until the Japanese are out of Burma and to go on until he gets to Tokio. He intends to get some leave, he intends to finish it through, no matter how soon the Nazis fold up, and then he wants to come home, and so does his Indian brother.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA ANNUAL MEETING

Chairman: The President, Mr. C. R. Conquergood

Thursday, April 26, 1945

Mr. Conquergood: Today's session of the Club is our Annual Meeting. According to the custom of previous years, I shall present simply a summary, and leave the extended details for presentation in our Year Book.

During the season just closing, we have held thirty regular meetings with an average attendance of 200, which is slightly ahead of last year. Seven business meetings of your executive committee have been held, in addition to the meetings of the committees. At the end of last season, our executive secretary, Mr. O. T. G. Williamson, tendered his resignation which made it necessary not only to find a new executive secretary, but office space as well, and meant the temporary loss of the Club's telephone. As you already know, Mr. H. C. Bourlier has been appointed executive secretary, and through the courtesy of the St. George's Society, we were provided with office accommodation at 14 Elm Street. Mr. Bourlier's long service to The Empire Club makes his appointment a particularly fortunate one for the Club. Your executive committee, on your behalf, in a special resolution extends the thanks to the St. George's Society.

The Club finances for the year have shown improvement. The treasurer's report will show a surplus, now estimated at not less than $500. A complete financial statement, with the auditor's certificate, will appear in the Year Book.

In membership, the Club shows a gain over the previous year. We have added to our list 249 names as against 182 last year. We have deleted 75 as against 63 last year.

Our present total is made up as follows: Resident, 1211; Non-Resident, 39; Honorary, 1; Sustaining, 1; Life Members, 19; War Service, 40; a total of 1310 as against 1136 last year, a net increase for the year of 174.

During the year, death took 18 Resident and 1 Life Member. We mourn the passing of our fellow members. In all cases, letters of condolence were sent to the bereaved family.

The Empire Club seems at times like a one-man show, but this is a most deceptive appearance. Your President is seen from week to week, but mostly unseen are the Officers, the Committee Chairmen, and members of the Executive, who are so largely responsible for the smooth running of the Club. Since no other acknowledgement is made of their services, I am taking a moment to name them, and thus express, on my behalf and on yours, our thanks to them. Speakers' Committee, Mr. Eric F. Thompson; Membership, Mr. Gordon Jones; Head Table, Mr. Horace Harpham; Finance, Mr. Gordon Janes; Notices, Mr. Tracy Lloyd; Publicity, Mr. W. O. Detweiler; Reception, Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh and Mr. Harry Haynes; Year Book, Mr. W. W. Comber; Constitution, Mr. J. P. Pratt; Honorary Auditor, Mr. H. T. Jamieson; Secretary, Mr. H. C. Bourlier; Treasurer, Mr. W. W. Comber.

The other members of the executive have been loyal in their counsel, and always ready to further the objectives of the Club—to strengthen the unity of the Empire. Naturally, in time of war, the war effort has occupied a prominent place in our programs, and we have not been unmindful of those who are allied with us in Freedom's cause. Many members of the Club have given valuable assistance in many ways and to you all I offer my grateful thanks for your loyal support during the past year. I shall now ask our secretary to present the report of the committee on nominations—Mr. Bourlier.

MR. BOURLIER: Gentlemen: The following recommendation of the Nominating Committee for the officers and members of the Executive Committee for the year 1945-46, has been submitted:

President—Eric F. Thompson.
First Vice-President—Col. F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O. and Bar.
Second Vice-President—Gordon Janes.
Third Vice-President—E. J. Bennett, F.C.A.
Secretary—H. C. Bourlier.
Treasurer—W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Auditor—H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Charles Byford,
Frank L. Clouse,
Major E. F. Coke,
J. A. Cole,
W. O. Detweiler,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
C. Norman Ham,
George Hardy,
Horace Harpham,
H. G. Haynes,
Sydney Hermant,
Gordon Jones,
Tracy E. Lloyd,
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
T. A. Pugsley,
Ford Ralph,
Lt.-Col. H. C. Tutte (S.A.)

Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee:
Immediate Past President:

C. R. Conquergood,

Past Presidents:

Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. (Can.), K.C.

C. R. Sanderson, M.A., B.Sc.
John C. M. MacBeth, K.C.

I move that this Report be accepted.

MR. R. D. WARWICK: I have pleasure in seconding the motion.

MR. CONQUERGOOD: It has been moved and seconded that the report of the Nominating Committee be adopted. Are there any further nominations?

Is it your pleasure, Gentlemen, that the officers and members of the Executive Committee proposed by the Nominating Committee be elected. Carried.

I will now ask our new President to come forward.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: This a great honour which you have bestowed on me and I am deeply conscious of the responsibility that goes with it. I am sure that you wish me to express to Mr. Conquergood the thanks and appreciation of the Club for the very able and successful manner in which he has conducted its affairs during the past year. With your co-operation and the assistance of the Executive Committee, which has been elected to serve with me, I can assure you that I will do my utmost to serve the Club and to further the objects for which it was founded.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO
THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1945

Cash on hand and in bank as at 30th April, 1944					$1,063.29
RECEIPTS					
Membership Fees			$5,126.00		
Interest:					
On Investment		$32.50			
On Savings Account		27.87			
			60.37		
Sale of Year Books			68.00		
				$5,254.37	
PAYMENTS					
Luncheon Expenses		$6.700.00			
Less:					
Sale of Tickets:					
By Outside Agencies	$5,005.00				
By Secretary	1,415,00				
		6,420.00			
			$ 280.00		
Printing, Postage and Stationery			2,702.79		
Recording and Publicity			275.05		
Honoraria:					
Secretary		$ 400.00			
Treasurer		200.00			
			600.00		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses			204.04		
Furniture and Fixtures			123.49		
Telephone and Telegraph			134.54		
Miscellaneous Expense			109.21		
				4,429.12	
Excess of Receipts over Payments					825.25
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1945					$1,888.54

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1945, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1945.

In addition to the cash balance of $1,888.54, the Club holds $1,000.00 Dominion of Canada 3¼% First War Loan Bonds, due 1st February, 1948-52.

As at 30th April, 1945, the Club was committed to publish the 1944-45 Year Book at an estimated cost of $1,500.00.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
4th June, 1945.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Officers and Executive Committee

Year 1945-1946

President: Eric F. Thompson

First Vice-President: Col. F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O. and Bar

Second Vice-President: Gordon Janes

Third Vice-President: E. J. Bennett, F.C.A.

Secretary: H. C. Bourlier

Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.

Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Charles Byford
Frank L. Clouse
Major E. F. Coke
J. A. Cole
W. O. Detweiler
*F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
C. Norman Ham
George Hardy
Horace Harpham
H. G. Haynes
Sydney Hermant
Gordon Jones
Tracy E. Lloyd
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
T. A. Pugsley
Ford Ralph
Lt.-Col. H. C. Tutte, (S.A.)

Immediate Past President:

C. R. Conquergood

Past Presidents:

Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, P.C., (Can.) K.C.
C. R. Sanderson, M.A., B.Sc.
John C. M. MacBeth, K.C.

*Deceased since election.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meetitng of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident and Associate members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, payable on or before the first day of October in each year. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to Be Elected

Art. 6—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents; an Honorary Treasurer, or a Treasurer, or both; an Honorary Secretary or a Secretary, or both; an Executive Committee which shall consist of the officers appointed under this Article and 17 other members, who, with the officers, shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. There may also be elected an Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Three Past Presidents together with the immediate Past President shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The Officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office until April 30th, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members (this Committee shall select its own Chairman) shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and ap-

proved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before such Annual meeting, due notice of such regular or special meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of the officers and members of the Executive Committee necessary under the Constitution, the President shall instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the President to have been duly elected.

(3) An Auditor or Honorary Auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Budget and Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at April 30, 1945

MEMBERS WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES

(Carried as Honorary Members)

Aird, Lieut. W. H.
Beardsworth, H.
Bond, E. A.
Bradley, Bruce H.
Burgess, Major F. A.
Burnaby, F. Harding
Campbell, E. M.
Clarkson, R.
Crawford-Brown, Norman
Davis, Bruce P.
Dunlap, Lieut. D. M.
Fallis, Col. The Rev. Geo. O.
Gale, Capt. George T.
Gibson, Col. R. B.
Gilbert, C. A.
Gilmour, Lieut. Thos. W.
Grasett, Lieut.-Col. S. H. B., V.D.
Gundy, C. L.
Harcourt, Major R. M.
Hills, Rev. William
Houghton, Flying Officer E. O.
Johnston, Erskine B.
Jolliffe, W. H.
Junkin, Major Lawrence
Lee, Flying Officer, H. T. I.
Massey, Squadron Ldr. Denton
Matthews, Flight Lieut. A. Beech
Matthews, Lieut. F. B.
Matthews, Flight Lieut. Paul W.
Morrow, Flight Lieut. Graham
Noyes, G. R. Finch
Nunn, Squad. Ldr. Norman A.
Parks, Arthur H.
Picard, Pilot Officer R. I. C.
Pickup, J. D.
Watson, Col. W. H.
Wilkes, Lt.-Col. F. Hilton
Wilson, Lieut. Hugh

LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS

Bickell, J. P.
Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, Dr. Elias
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Coombs, F. J.
Ferguson, Hon. G. Howard
*Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., K.C.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Johnson, E. E.
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
Maher, James P.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, Jas. Y., K.C., LL.D.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G., K.C.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Tindall, H. B.

*Since deceased.

CORPORATE OR SUSTAINING MEMBERS

Imperial Optical Company
Hermant, Percy

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Ahern, E. G.
Baker, Robert P.
Beaumont, Arthur
Boyd, Mossom de G.
Bradley, E.
Cameron, Capt. J. Duncan
Cawthra-Elliott, Maj. Gen. H. M.
Davidson, George MacK.
Davis, Aubrey
Dunlop, R. H.
Fraser, Alasdair D. R.
Grier, Sir Wyly
Hale, C. Harold
Hitchcock, C. H.
Hudson, J. P.
Hughes, Gordon R.
Humphrey, H. J.
Hutcheson, Frank W.
Innes, Rev. T. Christie, M.A.
Jackson, E. H.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Leather, Harold H.
Livingston, J. A.
Lovell, E. A.
MacLennan, H. Alexander
McCulley, Joseph
McIntosh, C. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
McLean, W. A.
Medland, C. R.
Over, Spencer Henry
Prince, Col. Alan C.
Rice, H. E.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.
Ryan, John
Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.
Steele, C. E.
Wideman, Harvey
Wood, Chester F.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Ackehurst, A. V.
Adair, Herbert E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, J. C.
Affleck, A.
Agar, Norman E.
Ahuja, M. R.
Akins, W. George
Alberts, Edgar T.
Alexander, John B.
Alexander, R. W.
Alexander, Samuel
Allen, Geo. H.
Allen, Thomas
Alley, B. P.
Allnutt, Rev. F. B., D.TH.
Ambrose, J. R. W.
Ander, J.
Anderson, E. H.
Anderson, J. Murray
Andrews, S. J.
Angus, W. Harry
Ansingh, Carl H.
Appleton, C. N.
Archdekin, W. O.
Armour, Rev. J. B. M., M.A., LL.D.
Armstrong, J. H.
Armstrong, W. J.
Arnoldi, Col. F. F., D.S.O. & BAR
Ashford, F. Allen
Askin, R. J.
Atkinson, Fred
Atkinson, F. L.
Auerbach, O.
Aziz, J.

Babayan, Levon
Babbitt, G. W.
Babcock, Harold A.
Bailey, Baldwin W.
Bain, George
Bain, H. R.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.

Baker, Geo. A.
Baker, T. H.
Baldwin, H. A.
Balfour, Gordon B., K.C.
Balfour, Keith C.
Ballard, B. W.
Band, Chas. S.
Banks, Douglas
Banks, E. H.
Barber, Geo.
Barber, William
Barbour, Royden M.
Bark, W. A.
Barrett, Brian N.
Bartman, G. M.
Barton, David
Bate, Wm. B.
Batten, Reg. A.
Batten, W. Howard
Baxter, Major W. James
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beardmore, S. H.
Beatty, C. W.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A., M.R.C.S.
Beatty, W.
Beck, A. F.
Bedford, Harold F.
Beeston, Geo. H.
Begg, Herbert
Bell, Dr. W. J.
Belyea, A. E.
Bennett, A. B.
Bennett, E. J.
Bennett, Lieut-Col. J. H.
Bennett, Norman D.
Benson, D. F.
Berkinshaw, N. W.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Bernard, M.
Berry, N. T.
Best, T. Harrison
Best, T. W.
Bevan, G. H.
Bickle, E. W.
Bingham, Rev. Dr. H. H.
Binnington, H. J.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, Colonel A. L.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Hon. Leslie E.
Blanchet, Reginald J.
Bland, Rev. Salem G.
Boag, Ernest C.
Boase, J. B.
Boehm, A. Fred
Bogart, Ernest, C., K.C.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bomby, W. S.
Bone, Fred A.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Booth, Jake M.
Bourlier, H. C.
Boustred, R. Warren
Bowman, Capt. Tom E.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Boyter, J. B.
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.
Brindley, L. K.
Brittain, Horace L.
Brock, Commodore E. R.
Brockwell, Meredith R.
Brooke, Arthur T.
Brooks, W.
Brown, D. Leslie
Brown, F. I.
Brown, Chancellor W. T.
Brown, Murray
Brown, Ross S.
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Browne, R. J.
Brownlee, Rev. E. A.
Bryce, Very Rev. Peter, D.D.
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Bull, W. Perkins, K.C., LL.D.
Bunting, J. D., Jr.
Burgess, John H.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burns, H. D.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Bush, Clayton E.
Butt, Dr. W. H.

Byford, Charles
Byrne, A. T.

Cable, H. J.
Caffrey, W. J.
Calder, B. R.
Calvin, C. C.
Cameron, Harry
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, Andrew
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Campbell, John L.
Cane, A. W.
Capell, S. L.
Carey, A. R.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, C. H.
Carnegie, F. T.
Carnegie, N. F.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carriere, S. W.
Carroll, Frank J.
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carscallen, H. M.
Carson, C. E.
Carson, James L.
Carter, F. H.
Carthy, Dr. W. C.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen. G. S.
Case, Everett J.
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Chambers, Frank H., LL.B.
Charles, Leo E.
Charlesworth, Hector
Charron, Charles S.
Chester, Lane R.
Chipman, Lt.-Col. J. H.
Chisholm, Lt.-Col. Geo. T.
Clark, C. C.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, John G.
Clark, Dr. Stanley K.
Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarke E. E.
Clarke, G. J.
Clarke, W. H.
Clarkson, G. T.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Cody, President H. J.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colberg, A. M.
Colby, S. A.
Cole, Joseph A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Coles, Gordon E.
Coles, Kenneth
Collington, George E.
Comber, W. W.
Complin, Gordon
Conant, Hon. Gordon D., K.C.
Connolly, C. P.
Conquergood, Chas. R.
Conquergood, J. N.
Coon, H. J.
Cooper, W. P.
Cork, J. Milton
Corlett, W. E.
Cormack, D. J.
Cornish, Prof. Geo. A.
Corrigan, Dr. C. A.
Corrigan, Fred S.
Corson, R. R.
Cosgrave, Provost F. H.
Coste, E. F.
Cotterell, E. D.
Cottrelle, Geo. R.
Coulter, J. E.
Coulter, Rev. Dr. J. J.
Coulter, W. C.
Coulter, W. Howard
Courtice, A. Roy
Coutts, Wm. E.
Coverdale, Thomas
Cowan, F. W.
Cowan, Major R. Cecil
Coyle, J. P.
Coyne, Gordon
Craick, W. A.
Craig, C. Vernon
Craig, T. A.
Crang, J. H.
Cranstoun, John A.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawford-Brown, Lyman
Creber, V. G.
Creighton, Arthur H.

Crighton, A. S.
Crockett, E.
Cross, Wm. B.
Crossin, H. W.
Crossingham, J. H.
Crowell, Samuel G.
Crummey, Dr. Clarence B.
Cudworth, W. O.
Curtis, Sq. Leader C. B.
Cutayar, A. G.

Daley, A. W.
Dallas, Rev. A. M.
Daly, Roland O.
Dargavel, R. B.
Davidson, D. L.
Davidson, Col. R. H.
Davies, J. E.
Davis, Bertram N.
Davis C. B.
Davis, George A.
Davis, Geo. D.
Davis, R. Reade
Davis, W. H.
Day, W. D.
Deacon, Col. F. H.
Decker, Chester J.
D'Egville, Sir Howard, K.B.E.
Dent, C. R.
Dentay, E. G.
Despard, W. H.
Detweiler, W O.
de Veber, L. S.
Dewar, A. M.
DeWitt, Prof. N. W.
Dickey, A. J.
Dilworth, W. A.
Dingle, Major Gordon R. M.
Dix, Wm. B.
Dixon, J. N. S.
Doleman, A. J.
Dolson, Dr. Wilbur J. M.
Donaldson, John
Doran, F. C.
Douglas, Howard R.
Draimin, Charles
Drew, Lt.-Col. The Hon. G. A.
Duffett, Norman G.
Duncan, Jas. S.
Duncan, S. F.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunn, Norman M.
Dunn, William
Durance, John J.
Durland, D. C.
Dutton, Thomas M.

Eastmure, A. W.
Eaton, Col. R. Y.
Eby, H. D.
Edmonds, C. E.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey
Edwards, H. Percy
Elgie, G. C.
Ellen, R. R.
Elliot, B. V.
Elliott, Charles R.
Elliott, G. N.
Ellis, C. Q.
Ellis, Matthew T.
Ellsworth, A. L.
Elton, J. O.
Ely, E. F.
England, Charles
England, Wm. T.
Entwistle, John S.
Evans, Jenkin
Evans, W. B.
Everett, Curtis T.
Ewart, Fred
Ewing, Thos. H.
Ezrin, Maurice

Faber, George
Faber, R. W.
Fairs, C. G.
Fairweather, R. H.
Falconer, H. W.
Fennell, Robert H.
Fenwick, Gordon
Ferguson, A. B.
Ferguson, H. H.
Ferguson, H. M.
Ferguson, M.
Fessenden, C. V.
Finlayson, D. J.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Fisher, D. B.
Fisher, Frank
Fleming, Donald M.

Fleming, Major Robert
Flemming, H. W.
Fletcher, S. S.
Flynn, J.
Forrester, Wm. J.
Fox, E. D.
Frame, S. J.
Frankel, Roy H.
Frankling, T. H.
Fraser, John A.
Freer, A. B.
French, George, M.D.
Freyseng, Willis P.
Frost, Harold R.
Fry, H.
Fulford, R. T.
Fyvie, J. M.

Gaby, Dr. Fred A.
Gadway, Bruce
Gairdner, J. A.
Gale, George C.
Gale, R. H.
Garber, Frank
Gardiner, F. G.
Gardiner, H. H.
Gardiner, Percy R.
Garrett, Albert H.
Gaunt, J. Wm.
Gaviller, Charles
Genovese, Frank A.
Gerow, Frank T.
Gianelli, Chevalier V.
Gibbons, O. T.
Gibson, D. H.
Gibson, Wm. S.
Gilchrist, Dr. A. J.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Gilchrist, T. S.
Giles, T. S. H.
Gillespie, Dugald L.
Gillespie, James
Gillespie, Wm.
Gillett, L. G.
Gilmour, A. H.
Glennie, Geo. H.
Godfrey, Charles
Goggin. Victor T.
Gohn, Byron E.
Goldberg, A. M. P.
Gooderham, E. D.
Gooderham, M. Ross, K.C.
Gooding, T. W.
Gordon, A. B.
Gordon, H. G.
Gordon, T. A.
Gordon, Wm. E.
Gould, J. Lyall S.
Gowdy, D. M.
Graham, Kingsley, K.C.
Graham, J. Lindsay
Grainger, Horace A.
Grainger, R. N.
Grand, Percy F.
Grant, J. R.
Grant, J. W.
Grant, W. G. F.
Grattan, William R. B.
Greaves, J. B.
Green, J. D.
Greene, L. R.
Gregory, R. A.
Greenland, John E.
Gresham, G. E.
Grier, A. Monro, K.C.
Grieve, John
Griffin, J. W.
Griffiths, F. D.
Grimbly, Maurice
Grisdale, C. L.
Guest, A. E.
Gully, Harold M.
Gundy, J. H.
Gunn, Major General John A.

Hair, Dr. C. H.
Hall, I. C.
Hallman, Ivan
Ham, C. N.
Ham, E. F.
Hambourg, Boris
Hamilton, A. E.
Hamilton, C. S.
Hamilton, John
Hamlin, Dr. Fred V.
Hammell, J. E.
Hand, A. M.
Hanna, Wm. B.
Hansen, Harald N.
Harbinson, V. D.

Hardy, George
Hardy, H. R.
Hargraft, W. M.
Harkness, G. F.
Harkness, Lt. Col. R. B.
Harman, H. M.
Harpham, Cecil
Harpham, Horace
Harris, Goodwin R.
Harris, Jos. H.
Harrison, James F.
Harrison, Kenneth J.
Harrison, W. E.
Harton, E. Douglas
Harvey, Findlay
Harvey, Dr. W. J.
Hastings, C. E.
Hastings, Warren B.
Hatch, Carr
Hawke, Eugene
Hawkins, V. S. G.
Hay, Frank
Hay, Ruthven
Hay, William G.
Hayden, Hon. Salter A.
Hayes, Barry B.
Haynes, Fred G.
Haynes, H. G.
Heintzman, Charles T.
Helliar, W. G.
Henderson, Robert
Hendrie, George C.
Henry, Hon. G. S.
Herbinson, Wm.
Herington, Gordon
Hermant, Sydney
Herod, Wesley J.
Hethrington, Major E. A.
Hewson, E. G.
Higgins, Fred Page
Higgins, W. A.
Hill, F. W. J.
Hill, John D.
Hill, Dr. Lawrence R.
Hill, Roy C.
Hillmer, R. W.
Hoadley, Hon. Geo.
Hoblitzell, Fred G.
Hodgins, Albert
Hogarth, D. M.
Hogg, Dr. T. H.
Holliss, J. F.
Holmes, Dr. W. H.
Holmested, G. S.
Holtzman, M. E.
Hooker, Edwin R. K.
Hookway, C. W.
Hooper, Col. B. O., D.S.O., M.C.
Hopkins, Dr. H. E.
Hopkins, Howard
Hopkins, Oliver B.
Hopkins, Percy E.
Horne, J. V.
Horsfall, H. H.
Hotrum, Fredk.
Houghton, W. R.
Houston, H. T.
Howard, Clifford H.
Howe, C. D.
Howe, H. J.
Howse, Thos. H.
Huckvale, Robert
Huffman, Geo. E.
Hugill, Albert E.
Hugill, W. M.
Hulbig, F. M.
Humphrey, Dr. John N.
Humphreys, W. Eason
Humphries, G. W.
Humphries, W. R. B.
Hunt, A. T.
Hunt, John F.
Hunter, B. B.
Hunter, E. J.
Hunter, Lt.-Col. F. Fraser
Hunter, H. T.
Hunter, K. M.
Hurlbut, C. A.
Huston, J. A.
Hutchinson, J. D. H.
Hutchison, O. A.

Inglis, M. Osborne
Innes, Captain W. C. C.
Irwin, John C. W.

Jackman, H. R.
Jackson, C.
Jackson, L. G.
Jacob, E. R.

Jaffray, W. G.
Jamieson, H. T.
Jamieson, John D.
Janes, Gordon
Jardine, William
Jarvis, H. St. J.
Jarvis, Norman S.
Jephcott, Dr. C. M.
Jephcott, Gerald
Jerry, Carman A.
Johnson, D. O.
Johnson, John
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Baptist
Johnston, E. Graham
Johnston, Dr. H. W.
Johnston, R. C.
Johnston, Dr. Samuel
Jones, Frank
Jones, G. J. L.
Jones, Gordon
Jones, Gordon
Jones, J. Erle
Jones, W. D.
Joyce, James H.
Jupp, A. E.

Kaplan, S. C.
Kasman, Philip
Kay, Edwin
Kellam, Geo. M.
Kellow, Ralph S.
Kelly, M. J.
Kent, Herbert B.
Kerr, A. B.
Kerr, Halbert J.
Kerr, John E.
Kerr, Rev. J. McD.
Kerr, Rowland
Kerr, W. R.
Keys, Norman A.
Kidney, Alfred
Kilgour, R. C.
King, Arthur C.
King, E. W.
Kinghorn, A. A.
Kinnear, T. Clark
Kinsman, J. Victor
Kirkham, Dr. F. R., M.D.
Kirkpatrick, Col. A. E.
Kirkpatrick, W. R.
Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
Kitchen, Walter
Knowles, John T.
Knowles, Hon. W. E.

LaBine, Chas.
LaBine, Gilbert
La Ferle, Charles
Laing, G. Blair
Lamb, Col. H. J.
Lambert, George
Lang, James
Langlois, M. G.
Lapp, Dr. John S.
Lascelles, G. A.
Laughton, H. V., K.C.
Lavine, Arthur
Lawer, W. L.
Lawrie, Donald L.
Lawson, Frank G.
Leacock, Geo. D.
Ledger, W. R.
Lee, Harry S.
Leibel, Dr. Bernard
Leibel, Wm.
Leitch, G. C.
Lemon, W. E.
Lennie, E. D.
LeSueur, R. V.
Levey, L. E.
Lewis, E. S.
Lindsay, G. C.
Lindsay, W. W.
Linton, Hall
Lister, M. Parker
Lithgow, J. H.
Litteljohn, A. M.
Little, F. M.
Little, Wm.
Lloyd, T. E.
Logan, C. S.
Logan, S. H.
Logie, Ben
Long, Clinton E.
Longmore, D. E.
Lord, R. W.
Lount, H. M.
Love, Harry H.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton

Lumbers, G. C.
Lundberg, Hans
Macaulay, Hon. Leopold
MacBeth, John C. M., K.C.
MacBrien, W. A. H.
MacDiarmid, H.
MacDonald, Arthur A.
Macdonald, Charleton E.
Macdonald, Neil
Macdonnell, H. W.
MacEachern, Gordon A.
MacFadyen, W. T. A.
MacKay, Hon. Mr. Justice J. Keiller
MacKelcan, Fred R.
Mackellar, S. R.
Mackey, Wallace A.
MacKinnon, J. Bruce
Maclachlan, Wills
MacLaren, Ian
MacLean, Commander A. D., R.C.N.V.R.
MacLean, Major Hugh C
MacLean, Lt.-Col. J. B.
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
MacMillan, William
MacNicol, John R., M.P.
Macphee, Norman
Macrae, E. M.
MacRae, F. J.
MacRae, John
Magi, M. I.
Male, W. Harold
Mallison, Fred
Mancantelli, Robert
Manning, H. B.
Marchment, W. R.
Markon, K.
Marks, Wilton
Marsh, F. Hedley
Marsh, W. H.
Marshall, Geo. A.
Marshall, G. Reg.
Marshall, Col. K. R.
Martin, H. J.
Martin, Magistrate O. M.
Martin, S. O.
Martin Stacey V.
Masse, O.
Massie, R. H. L.
Matthews, Hon. Albert
Matthews, C. F.
Matthews, C. Syd.
Matthews, James G.
Matthews, James R.
Matthews, Hon. R. C.
Matthews, T. Frank
Maunsell, J. Q.
Maxwell, John
May, George E. I.
Maynard, Robt. B.
McAdam, S.
McArthur, Lt. Col. A. S.
McBain, Alex.
McBain, Brigadier Robert
McBride, C. W.
McBride, James
McCaffrey, E. R.
McCarthy, Leigh M.
McCarthy, Leighton
McCartney, Wm. S.
McClatchie, John
McClelland, D. McK.
McCloskey, H. C.
McCloskey, L. C.
McColl, D. A.
McCraw, D. F.
McCrea, Hon. Chas.
McCrea, T. Arthur
McCrimmon, D. A.
McCullagh, C. G.
McCulloch, Dr. R. J. P.
McDermott, Francis S.
McDougall, R. G. M.
McDowell, George
McGaw, A. F.
McGaw, T. D.
McGillivray, Dr. Donald
McGillivray, T. A.
McGinnis, S. L.
McGowan, James R.
McGowan, L. J.
McHardy, R. A.
McIntosh, A. N
McIntosh, J. McD.
McKee, John W.
McKerrow, J. O.
McKinley, Dr. J. N
McKinnon, W. L.
McLaren, J. B.

McLean, J. S.
McLeod, J. A.
McLeod, W. N.
McMaster, T. G.
McMillen, John B.
McMullen, Robert
McMurray, Leonard L.
McNamara, George A.
McNeil, J. A.
McNeil, W. G.
McNeill, E. W.
McNeill, Rev. James, D.D.
McNeillie, Geo. G.
McPherson, R. S.
McVey, Roy A.
McWilliams, A. D.
McWilliams, D. B.
Medland, J. A.
Medland, T. J.
Meech, R. G., K.C.
Mellish, A. E.
Menzies, Thomas E.
Meredith, Arthur
Meredith, C. H.
Merritt, H. Gregory
Mess, Brigadier James
Mickelsen, C.
Middleton, A. N.
Miles, Arthur W.
Millar, W. G.
Miller, Andrew
Miller, Chas. T.
Miller, P. C.
Milliken, Walter T.
Milling, Ernest R.
Mist, Charles F.
Mitchell, A. N.
Mitchell, A. R.
Mitchell, B. L.
Mitchell, C. S. F.
Mitchell, Dr. E. W.
Mitchell, John F.
Mitchell, Dr. J. P.
Mitchell, Wm. G.
Mitchell, Lt.-Col. W. G.
Moffat, D. R.
Moffat, John H.
Moncur, W. L.
Monteith, Eric M.
Montgomery, Dr. Robert C.
Monypenny, T. F.
Moore, F.
Moore, H. Napier
Moore, R. C.
Moore, S. J.
More, W. G.
Morgan, Basil
Morgan, J.
Morgan, Marcel T.
Morley, Frank
Morley, R. B.
Morris, Alex. C.
Morris, G. F.
Morrison, Lt. Col. L. S.
Morrow, F. K.
Morrow, G. A.
Mortimer, J. A.
Mudie, Hubert C. P.
Muirhead, W. T.
Mulock, Col. The Hon. W. P
Mulqueen, F. J.
Munn, Chas. H.
Munnoch, Gordon R.
Murdoch, W. E.
Murphy, A. P.
Murphy, M. P.
Murphy, Thos. A.
Murray, David
Murray, D. Bruce
Murray, Major Gladstone
Murray, H. W.
Muskett, Donald T.
Muskett, H. W.
Musson, C. J.
Mutch, C. M.
Mylrea, A. J.

Nash, Gerald
Naylor, W. W.
Needham, C. F.
Neelands, E. V.
Neilly, Balmer
New, Ryland H.
Newbegin, L. R.
Newman, Harry A.
Newman, T. C.
Newport, W. R.
Newth, Reg. W.
Newton, B. G.
Nicholson, H. A.

Nicholson, James
Nickell, J. N.
Nicol, W. E.
Noble, Wilfred G.
Nodwell, Clifford F.
Norman, Cecil
Norman, Sidney
Northey, R. K.
Northway, A. G.
Norton, T. W. F.
Nunn, Herbert G.

Oakley, Thomas
O'Brien, G. E.
O'Connor, W. M.
Oglesby, W. V.
Oldfield, Harold G.
Olver, Lt-Col. E. A., D.S.O., V.D.
Omand, J. N.
Omejer, Capt. Odegard
Ongley, David J.
Osborne, D. Hillis
Osborne, Col. J. Ewart
Osbourn, A. J.
Osler, Glyn
Ostrom, W. R.
Ottaway, Frank G.
Owen, G. H.
Owen, Most Rev. Derwyn T.
Owens, C. L.

Page, Wm. A.
Pakes, S. A.
Palmer, H. A.
Park, Hugh
Parker, Dr. Chas. B.
Parker, Very Rev. Stuart C., D.D.
Parkinson, N. F.
Parsons, Archie H.
Parsons, Robert C.
Parsons, Robert S., Jr.
Partridge, A. G.
Patrick, W. G.
Patten, Edward
Patterson, H. F.
Patterson, J. K.
Patterson, R. E.
Pattison, Dr. C. L.
Pearce, C. T.
Pearce, N. C.
Pearce, R. John
Pearson, Gerald F.
Peckover, Cecil R.
Pennington, Roy O.
Pennock, James D.
Pepall, Geo. T.
Pepler, Lt. Col. H. W. E.
Perry, Geo. D.
Perry, Gordon F.
Perry, H. M.
Perry, N. R.
Pettit, Godfrey S.
Phoenix, C. S.
Picking, Lt.-Col. F. J.
Pickup, J. W., K.C.
Pike, Theodore
Plant, W. H.
Plantner, J. F.
Playfair, S. B.
Pooler, E. H.
Porter, Hon. D. H.
Porter, Dr. Geo. D.
Poucher, F. B.
Powley, J.
Pratt, Dr. D. W.
Pratt, J. P., K.C.
Pratt, W. S.
Prentice, Magistrate John L.
Prentice, Victor F.
Price, Lieut.-Col. W. H.
Pringle, J. F.
Proverbs, C. I.
Pugsley, T. Aubrey
Pullan, Harry
Pullen, Frank
Purkis, Thornton

Quigley, Edward J.

Radley, Bernard
Rae, Robert
Ralph, R. Ford
Ramsay, Victor R.
Rankin, Donald O., B.A.
Ransom, A. C.
Rapson, William
Rawlinson, Lt-Col. Walter
Rea, Charles E.
Reburn, E. T.

Redman, Harry W.
Reed, Col. Le Grand
Rees, S. L.
Reid, Fraser D.
Reid, Harry E.
Reid, Loftus H.
Reid, Dr. Spence
Reilly, Leonard M.
Rennie, Thos.
Reynolds, S. B.
Riddell, Frank A.
Riley, E. D.
Riley, Very Rev. Dean
Ripley, Col. Blair
Ripley, Bruce T.
Robbins, W. D.
Roberts, Major A. Kelso
Roberts, C. Percy
Roberts, F. E.
Roberts, H. A. D.
Robertson, Major Chas. A.
Robertson, C. S.
Robertson, Douglas S.
Robertson, R. A.
Robertson, W. G.
Robinson, G. G.
Robinson, H. Kenneth
Robinson, W. G. W.
Robinson, W. J.
Robinson, W. W.
Robson, F. E.
Roewade, O.
Rogers, Alfred
Rogers, H. L.
Rogers, J. A.
Rogerson, J. G.
Rollason, W. E.
Rolph, F. Grenville
Rooney, J. H.
Ross, Alexander P.
Ross, Douglas G.
Ross, Hon. W. D.
Rotenberg, Harry I.
Rotenberg, Louis
Routley, Dr. F. W.
Rowe, Arthur L.
Rowland, W. Alex.
Rowlatt, F. Albany
Roxborough, E. L.
Ruddy, E. L.
Russell-Murray, J.
Ryall, R. J. H.

Sachs, Rabbi Samuel
Sachs, W. R.
St. Lawrence, F.
Salter, W. R.
Sampson, S. F. D.
Samuel, Sigmund, LL.D.
Sanders, C. J.
Sanders, Wilfrid
Sanderson, C. R.
Sandwell, B. K.
Sandy, J.
Sargeant, E. S.
Sarjeant, Dr. P. A.
Saunders, Mayor Robert H.
Saunders, S. J. Reginald
Saunders, Sydney B.
Savage, R. W.
Sawers, Ven. Archdeacon, F. J.
Scherer, Joseph
Scheuer, Edmund Jr.
Scheuer, Isadore S.
Schmuck, Frank W.
Schurman, C. D.
Scott, John R.
Scott, S. C.
Scott, W. S.
Scovell, Rev. G. S.
Scruton, J. F.
Seagram, J. W.
Seccombe, W. Wallace
Sedgwick, Harry
Sedgwick, Joseph
Selby, W. T. H.
Shakespeare, Wm. C.
Sharpe, Edward R.
Shaver, Edward B. H.
Shenstone, Dr. Norman
Sheppard, G. H.
Sherk, Frank T.
Shevlen, W. A.
Shields, C. B.
Shiels, M. S.
Shier, Dr. R. V. B.
Shortt, Maurice J.
Sibbald, S. J.
Sifton, Major Clifford
Simpson, James I.

Sims, R. L.
Sinclair, Gordon
Sinclair, Neil, K.C.
Singer, J. G.
Slater, Leslie Geo.
Slatkin, Alfred D.
Sloan, W. G.
Smallpeice, V. N.
Smart, Rev. John
Smith, A. Bayard
Smith, A. L.
Smith, F. D. L.
Smith, H. M.
Smith, Harry R.
Smith, Irving D.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, S. E. V.
Smith, Dr. Sidney
Smith, S. Titchener
Smith, W. C.
Snider, C. H. J.
Snively, Major A. C.
Snowdon, C. Allen
Soltermann, Jules R.
Sommerville, Wm. E.
Southall, H. L.
Southgate, Reg. C.
Sparling, E. M.
Speight, T. B.
Spence, Dr. R. J.
Spence, Dr. W. A.
Spooner, C. H.
Spooner, Lt.-Col. . R. T.
Springett, Rev. E. J.
Staal, A.
Stanley, J. N.
Stanley, J. W.
Stanley, R. D.
Stanley, Richard T.
Stapells, Arthur A.
Steiner, E. A.
Stephenson, H. R.
Stevens, V. S.
Stewart, Dr. A. E.
Stewart, Alan E.
Stewart, D. E.
Stewart, Dunlop
Stewart, Wm. J., O.B.E.
Stickney, M. R.
Stodart, A. B.
Stoddart, George W.
Stoddart, W. H.
Stoneman, Harry P.
Strong, Gerald
Stutz, B. J.
Sugarman, E. R.
Summers, G. F.
Sutherland, Harry L.
Suydam, J. C.
Switzer, E. L.

Taylor, Donald
Taylor, E. Geo. T.
Taylor, E. P.
Taylor, Reginald W.
Tedman, Harry M.
Terry, H. W.
Therrien, James A.
Thomas, R. H.
Thompson, Major A. O.
Thompson, E. F.
Thompson, Geo. W.
Thompson, Gordon V.
Thompson, Harry T.
Thompson, J. W.
Thompson, Murray O.
Thompson, P. Delos
Thomson, H. G.
Tidy, Major Frank O.
Tilston, Charles E.
Tinning, Stanley E.
Tolchard, F. D.
Tory, John A.
Trow, Dr. E. J.
Tucker, Edward J.
Tudhope, H. R.
Turner, E. H.
Turner, James
Turville, Frank D.
Tuteur, Capt. M. P.
Tutte, Lt-Col. H. C. (S.A.)

Urquhart, Norman C.

Vandervoort, Arthur E.
Van Koughnet, Arthur
Van Lane, J. F.
Van Nest, F. J.
Van Nostrand, C. I.

Vanstone, B. S.
Van Wart, Capt. Horace
Varty, W. George
Vatcher, T. G.
Vaughan, J. J.
Vaughan, J. W.
Vetter, E. L.
Virgin, W. H.
Virtue, Roy A.
Von Maur, Jacob D.

Waddington, F. G.
Wagner, William A.
Waldie, R. S.
Waldruff, E. H.
Walker, Aitken
Walker, E. B
Walker, H. C.
Walker, Wm.
Waller, G. E.
Walmsley, Joseph
Walsh, Fred T.
Walters, Chester
Ward, Rev. Canon J. E.
Wardropper, J.
Warmoll, C. R.
Warren, Dr. C. A.
Warren, Harold D.
Warwick, Geo. R.
Warwick, R. D.
Waters, W. Keith
Watson, George E.
Watson, W. G.
Watson, Dr. W. V.
Way, H. J.
Weale, W. H.
Weeks, A. L.
Welbourn, Major Bram, (S.A.)
Welch, Frank
Welch, Frank E.
Weldon, W. J.
Wells, E. F.
Wemp, Major Bert S.
West, Reg. C.
Weston, J. F.
Westren, John
Wheelwright, Barton
Whidden, Dr. Howard P.
White, H. F.
White, Sir Thos,
Whiteley, J.
Whittingham, Major H.
Wiglesworth, H. L.
Wilbur, G. P.
Wildblood, G. W.
Wilkins, Cyril H.
Wilkinson, E. H.
Wilkinson, Rev. Canon F. H., M.A., B.D.
Williams, A. W.
Williams, B. H.
Williams, H. H.
Williams, Dr. J. J.
Williams. Dr. J. P. F.
Williams, R. T.
Williamson, O. T. G.
Williamson, Rutherford
Willinsky, Dr. A. I.
Wilson, Alex.
Wilson, A. E.
Wilson, Alex. L.
Wilson, Geo.
Wilson, G. D.
Wilson, Lt. Col. R. S.
Wilson, T. A.
Winchell, L. F.
Winter, L. A.
Winters, C. E.
Wolfenden, Hugh H.
Wolfson, Norman
Wood, F. P.
Wood, George H.
Wood, L. M.
Wood, R. J.
Wood, S. Casey, Jr.
Woodcock, Rev. Canon H. F. D.
Woodland, J C.
Woods, Q. C.
Woolnough, W. H.
Wright, D. G. H.
Wright, E. Frank
Wright, L. V.
Wright, Capt. Palmer
Wyatt H. L.

Young, Professor C. R.
Young, H. G.
Young, John A.
Young, W. T.

Zinkan, Dr. E. I.